CULTURE BOOM IN APPALACHIA DAVID A. PEYTON

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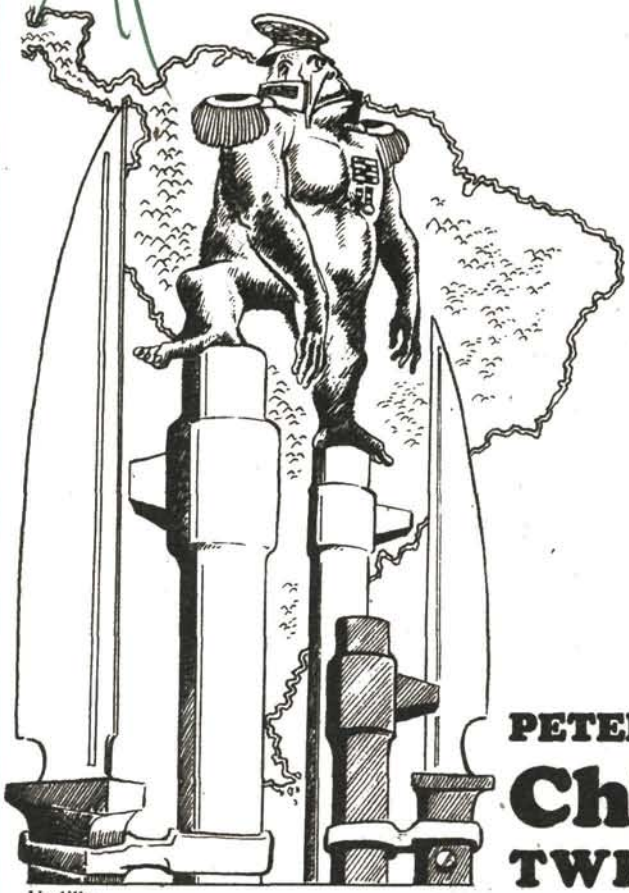

Vadillo

PETER WINN

Chile: TWILIGHT OF THE GOONS

Depression and the Welfare State
DEAD END OF AN IDEOLOGY
DAVID BENSMAN & LUTHER CARPENTER

Herbert L. Matthews: 'R[illegible]tion in Cuba'

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LETTERS

who owns the guns?

Columbia, Md.

In "The Demography of Gun Control" [*The Nation*, Sept. 20], James D. Wright quite correctly points up the importance of knowing who the people are who own guns, but I cannot accept his implication that their attitudes toward gun control are more important than those of non-gun-owning people. In any event, it would be foolish to conclude anything from his article except that the subject needs study. . . . His principal conclusion is that "no doubt the key element in the 'grass-roots' opposition to gun control" outside of the South is (*a*) the "affluent white Protestant upper-middle class"; (*b*) "white Protestants with annual incomes of $20,000 or more," or (*c*) "white Protestant pistol owners with incomes of $15,000 or more a year." Although it is apparent that the three labels (all from p. 243) are not interchangeable, he seems to use them as if they are. In referring to (*c*) as the basis for his principal conclusion, Wright notes that he is talking about only thirty-eight people in a survey of 15,000—a number of respondents much too small to bear the weight of the inverted pyramid of argumentation erected upon it. . . . In addition, Wright does not use adequate controls with respect to classification of gun ownership or even provide the correct basic reference data. Quoting Rep. Michael J. Harrington, Wright tells us that "21 million hunters and an estimated 60 million American households . . . have guns." I assume the data base for the quotation was the 1970 census and the information got garbled in transmission, because in 1970 there was a *total* of only about 62,875,000 households (both gun owning and non-gun owning). Perhaps Harrington meant that there were 21 million hunters among the approximately 60 million households in the United States, or an average of just over one hunter in every three households if the hunters were spread evenly. If this tells us something of the whereabouts of hunting weapons it does not necessarily tell us anything about handguns. Nevertheless, Wright compounds the error in his quotation from Harrington by converting the 60 million households into "60 million or so *families* who possess a firearm" (my emphasis). He uses this prime datum repeatedly. The 1970 census found only about 51,237,000 families of all types in the United States, and projections place the number in 1975 at between 56 and 57 million. Thus it seems that Wright expects us to believe that more than 100 per cent of all families own guns. . . .

Jack Ericson Eblen

Amherst, Mass.

Taking Mr. Eblen's objections roughly in the order of their appearance:

(*1*) The attitudes of gun owners are "more important" only in the strict political sense: they are much more likely to oppose gun controls than nonowners, and for this reason it is "most important" that the extent and nature of their opposition is understood. One critical component of this understanding, as I point out in the article, is that their opposition is seriously exaggerated in accounts such as that of Representative Harrington.

(*2*) The phrases, "affluent white Protestant upper-middle class" and "white Protestants with annual incomes of $20,000 a year or more," seem entirely interchangeable to me. Outside the South, this group is the most heavily armed in the nation. The third phrase, "white Protestant pistol owners with incomes of $15,000 or more a year," is taken from my discussion of the opposition to gun controls; it was meant to indicate the "joint effects" of status and weapons ownership on gun-control attitudes. For this latter purpose, the lower-income categorization was used precisely because there are relatively few such people in random population surveys of the size I am working with.

(*3*) The sample size of this survey is 1,500 people, not 15,000. The latter figure was a typesetter's error corrected in my letter to the editor in the Oct. 4th issue of *The Nation*.

(*4*) Harrington's figure, "60 million American households which have guns" is erroneous, and Eblen was correct to point this out. Judging from the census data supplied by Eblen, the survey data discussed in my article, and other estimates such as that produced by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Vio-

(*Continued on page 468*)

EDITORIALS

'Ideological Schizophrenia'

George Cabot Lodge, of the Harvard Business School, has just published a collection of essays (*The New American Ideology*, Alfred A. Knopf, discussed by Leonard Silk in a recent issue of *The New York Times*), copies of which should be immediately dispatched to President Ford and his economic advisers. Of particular interest just now is Mr. Lodge's insistence that Americans, citizens and politicians alike, have a mind-set on the subject of ideology. To them ideologies are a European invention that have no relevance in American affairs. Lodge replies that no nation has been more thoroughly imbued with ideology than the United States, although we resolutely insist that our thinking is free of such fixed suppositions. (See article by Bensman and Carpenter, p. 456.)

It is a truly mind-boggling experience to hear President Ford hold forth on the virtues and relevance of the "free market economy" in an age of administered prices, subsidies and assorted handouts to big business. Models are important and ideologies can serve a purpose, that is if they are relevant. But an obsolete ideology can obscure new realities and prevent necessary adjustments; it can entrap minds and confuse discussion of important public issues. The glaring discrepancy between official free market or *laissez-faire* preachments and what actually happens every day in the marketplace would be spotted instantly if it were not for the fact that we keep religiously reaffirming that every action we take is consistent with the "free enterprise system." Hence our adherence to the free enterprise ideology produces what Mr. Lodge calls, quite aptly, "ideological schizophrenia," which in turn makes for muddled policies and zany politics. Mr. Lodge feels that the free enterprise ideology is at long last disintegrating; if so, it should sharpen our perception of economic realities. Meanwhile, we will continue to vote subsidies and handouts and tolerate cartels and administered prices, all in the name of "the free enterprise system"—which is not of course an ideology.

The Chill on Chile

Since the overthrow of the Allende regime, the Chilean junta has been pursued by well-documented charges of political repression, including mass arrests and detentions, torture and the denial of such elementary legal decencies as the right to counsel, due process and a fair trial. Last May, the Organization of American States was prepared to discuss the regime's unsavory record on human rights at its annual Washington meeting. But the Chileans, with American support, maneuvered to get the item removed from the agenda on the promise that the regime would invite a U.N. commission to visit Chile and investigate the charges.

Then, on July 4, with the U.N. panel assembled in Peru and preparing to enter Chile, the junta suddenly revoked its invitation. Several months later the investigation got underway and some eighty-three witnesses were heard, although the testimony had to be taken outside of Chile.

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The five-member panel of the Commission on Human Rights (Austria, Ecuador, Belgium, Pakistan and Sierra Leone) has issued a 132-page report in which it states "with profound disgust" that in Chile political repression continues "in a systematic and devastatingly far-reaching manner." Chile has categorically rejected the preliminary report, which has now been sent for debate to the General Assembly.

Pressure that has been slowly building in this country to force the State Department to reconsider its hands-off position on the issue seemed until recently to be having little effect. But in October, when Chile voted with the Arabs at the U.N. in favor of a resolution that denounced Zionism as a form of racism, a chill became perceptible in U.S.-Chilean relations. "Chile sold her vote to the Arabs," a "high official" at the American mission to the U.N. told *The New York Times*. It remains to be seen whether Washington will now join forces with those nations urging a hearing on the charges. It should do so, for this country has nothing to gain—and much to lose—by continuing to support the Santiago clique. As William Watson pointed out in an article in last week's *Nation*, "Governments that come to rely so heavily upon the forces of organized violence are inherently unstable." Preoccupation with repression becomes their stock in trade and incompetence their trademark. The junta has made a ghastly mess of Chile's economy (see article by Peter Winn, p. 461) and has set the stage for the early appearance of a new regime that will probably be well to the left of Allende's. If it is, Washington's bias in favor of right-wing dictatorial regimes will once again have produced the opposite of what was intended. In the meantime, attention shifts to the General Assembly, where the report of the special panel is scheduled to be debated some time this month.

The Word He Wouldn't Say

The House Ethics Committee, after a month of maneuvering behind the scenes, has voted to conduct a formal probe of Rep. Michael Harrington's alleged violation of House rules. The probe was scheduled to begin November 3. The committee was prepared, it has been reported, to drop the probe if Harrington would only say he was "sorry," but sorry he would not say. He is charged with having improperly disclosed portions of CIA Director William Colby's testimony, taken at a closed-door session of the House Armed Services Committee and concerning covert activities in Chile. His defense is that the testimony disclosed illegal CIA activity in Chile and that he felt a higher obligation to reveal the actions than to honor the House rules prohibiting disclosure of secret testimony.

Two members of the committee voted not to conduct the investigation. The issue really turns less on what Harrington did than on what he refused to do—express regret for having leaked aspects of Colby's testimony. Of course House rules should in general be honored, but in this instance Harrington is on firm ground in saying: "What is really at issue here is the failure of the Congress to discharge its responsibilities as an overseer of intelligence activity. The issue is not Michael Harrington but the use of the CIA and government secrecy in general to short-circuit the democratic process and cover up illegal activity." He

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has also said that he will attempt to use the hearings to argue for a change in House rules covering secret and sensitive material and for increased Congressional surveillance of intelligence agencies such as the CIA. The point is well taken. Leaking information from closed-door hearings is an indoor pastime in Washington, but it seems that only when the material leaked is definitely in the public interest does the House decide to take action. The upcoming hearings should be closely scrutinized. Any recommendation by the committee, short of expulsion, will be subject to approval by a majority of the full House; expulsion would require affirmation by a two-thirds vote. This is a tempest in a teapot, but it could become a tempest.

The Politics of Manners

Though his support of the latest Sinai agreements has won him few friends in the Arab world, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is still *persona non grata* at City Hall in New York. During his visit to this country late last month, he was rebuffed by Mayor Abraham Beame, whose refusal to greet Sadat was an act of diplomatic discourtesy that does New York's Mayor and the city he represents little credit and will only harden the views of those at the United Nations who wrongly insist upon the identification of Zionism with racism.

By greeting Sadat in a civil manner, Beame could conceivably have had a moderating influence on the anti-Israeli campaign being waged in his city at the U.N. Instead he chose to play politics. A Beame aide at City Hall said the rejection was "based solely" on the Arab-initiated, Zionism-is-racism resolution voted by a U.N. committee last month. Just as likely, the action was based on a reflexive fear of criticism by elements of the city's Jewish community. Leaders of that community were said to be equally divided in their counsel to Beame on the Sadat meeting, but the Mayor, already wincing from the widespread attack by New Yorkers on his fiscal administration, apparently decided to avoid the possibility of adverse reactions which might have followed an official welcome of Sadat.

Beame's refusal to meet with Sadat was also a rebuff to the Ford administration, which had scheduled the Egyptian's American itinerary to include a visit with the Mayor. By embarrassing the administration, Beame might have thought he was retaliating for the administration's let-New York-die attitude, reminding Ford that, as home of the United Nations, New York has significance beyond being America's largest city—a fact that, so far, Ford has chosen to ignore.

Whatever his motivations, the Mayor's rudeness will doubtless boost Sadat's stock with his Arab critics and may well reinforce anti-Israeli sentiment at the U.N.—which was certainly not Beame's intention.

Beyond the Call of Duty

Justice William O. Douglas, at 77 and physically crippled by a stroke last New Year's Eve, has apparently committed himself to remaining on the bench at least through the 1976 election. He evidently hopes for a new administration that will appoint a successor to carry on his struggle for social justice and civil liberty on the Supreme Court.

Judging from reported observations of his fitness and behavior, it seems that Douglas's battle for survival on the Court—for that is what it is—has been increasingly taxing. A resignation for reasons of health would be universally understood; no one expects him to continue, though many who admire his record hope he will persevere. A Supreme Court without Douglas, with a replacement selected by President Ford, would be a far more conservative one, much more conservative than even the present Court dominated by Richard Nixon's selections. It would be a Court lacking the passion for fairness and freedom that has been the mark of William Douglas's tenure.

Though, by law, there is no way Douglas can be removed against his will for reasons of health, reports indicate that a majority of the Justices have been trying to postpone vital decisions on which his vote might be decisive, because they want to avoid pointed challenges to Douglas's competence or because they hope to circumvent his influence. But Douglas's continued survival through most of 1976 will make impossible such maneuvers; the backlog would become too threatening, and some decisions, such as the upcoming ruling on the campaign reform laws, will not wait. Meanwhile, the media and the other members of the Court scrutinize Douglas's every word and action closely, his supporters looking for signs of continued health, his critics searching for signs of deterioration.

Constantly watched, ever battling his infirmity, Douglas's fate is an unpleasant one, his acceptance of it gallant beyond all requirements of commitment to what he believes. An homage to him, planned for December 12 in New York by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, merits wide participation and support. Also to be commemorated at the December 12th NECLC function will be the 184th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. The joining of the two is appropriate: no one in our era has fought harder for the spirit of those first ten constitutional amendments than William O. Douglas. And at no time in his career has his battle for them been so valiant, so deserving of praise.

Jailhouse Mania

Critics of the nation's criminal justice system have long accused its administrators of "warehousing" convicts, who are stacked away to await their release and who learn nothing meanwhile except what other prisoners teach them about the ways of crime. Now the metaphor has become realized fact: both *The New York Times* (Wayne King) and CBS reported recently that, in the South at least, overcrowding has become standard; in some cases, warehouses have been converted to hold the growing numbers who have been receiving ever longer sentences.

Federal judges have ordered an end to the overcrowding in Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi but, short of wholesale early release—already tried in some instances in Georgia and Florida—no relief seems in sight. In Florida, the prison population has jumped to 15,000—up from 11,500 just ten months ago. The capacity of the state's prison system is 10,000. Warehouses and army squad tents have been used to house prisoners. In one dormitory, 170 men live in a space designed for ninety; in some cases, up

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to ten prisoners share a 12 by 15 foot cell. The fear and tension that pervade prison existence everywhere have been heightened by the packing. In Georgia, the state's thirty-seven incarceration facilities hold 3,700 more than the 8,000 capacity. The Tennessee State Penitentiary was built for 1,600; officials say it should have only 1,200. It now holds 2,100. In Virginia, 2,000 state prisoners are being held in city and county jails because the state's facilities are already overcrowded. Louisiana's Angola Prison was designed for 2,600 prisoners; more than 4,400 are kept there. Nearly 13,000 are held in North Carolina prisons designed for 10,000. Alabama prisons are operating 50 per cent above capacity. And the "capacity" figures are usually generous, far above what constructive penology would permit.

There are a number of reasons for this cruel and dangerous overcrowding, notably tougher minimum sentencing laws and harsher sentencing by judges, combined with rising crime rates and rapid population expansion, as in Florida. As a delayed reaction to the "law and order" rhetoric of a few years back, police resources have been increased and arrest rates have risen, paroles are being issued later and with less frequency. As the situation has deteriorated, popular political pressures for more arrests, longer sentences and tougher law enforcement simply compound the problem. And this despite the fact that, as one Florida prison official told King, "99.9 per cent of them [the prisoners] are going to be out some day, and they will be your neighbors and mine." At the moment overcrowding is critical in every Southern state and, as Allen L. Ault, Georgia Commissioner of Corrections and head of the Southeast Corrections Council, points out: "It's worse every day." In fact, overcrowding has reached such proportions that as an emergency measure, officials are releasing scores of prisoners—generally those not charged with crimes involving violence—who have not served their sentences. Ironically, overcrowding may thus force reforms in the criminal justice system that reason and experience have failed to accomplish.

Bottom Line

Who bakes the bread you eat; who owns the hotels where you stay; who decides what films you shall see? To these questions—symptoms of a depersonalized society—is now added another: who publishes the books you read? Until comparatively recently, well within the memory of people still active in the trade, book publishing resisted Veblen's curse of bigness. Most of the prestigious firms were owned and run by individuals, and their editors were men and women known for their particular enthusiasms as well as their dollar shrewdness. These were distinctly commercial houses; they were out to make money, and some of them made quite a lot. They pampered best-selling authors, sometimes they cast their lines in other fellows' fish ponds and they were never discourteous to Book-of-the-Month Club judges. At the same time, these publishers also brought out books they liked, books by promising writers or good writers of almost no promise in the commercial sense, both because they enjoyed backing what they fancied and because they felt an obligation to writers and the literate public. Over the years, such firms built backlists of enduring books that cushioned them from the effects of economic cycles and the luck of the trade.

Then, about fifteen years ago, some of the best-known publishers went public; their stock appeared on the New York Exchange, and for a short time book shares were thought glamorous. More recently, large corporations have been buying book houses, to add variety to their conglomerate portfolios and, when they already are in the motion picture business, to build vertical "communication" structures. Thus RCA bought Random House, Gulf & Western bought Simon & Schuster, and the process continues. It is always said, of course, that the original publishing unit retains its autonomy within the financial giant. At a recent meeting reported by Tom Buckley (*The New York Times*, October 27) James Silberman, editor in chief at Random House, assured members of the National Society of Literature and the Arts (i.e., subscribers to *Saturday Review-World*) that "corporations are interested only in the bottom line"—a curious way to soothe an audience that presumably knows the effect of corporate preoccupation with the bottom line.

At a Library of Congress meeting last month, pessimism was offset by at least glimmers of hope. As reported by Phillip Kadis in *The Washington Star*, Peter Davison, poetry editor of *The Atlantic* and a director of the Atlantic Monthly Press, summed up the down side of the present scene with what he called "the second law" of publishing: "If everybody doesn't want it, nobody gets it." Along the same line, Stanley Kunitz, a senior poet and consultant in poetry for the Library, pointed out that, in a period when publishers were cutting out books with potential sales of less than 5,000, "four 'definitive biographies' of Judy Garland" were published in one year.

At the same time, representatives of university presses reported that they were putting out stronger and larger lists, with a considerable emphasis on poetry; the number of "private" presses has been mushrooming recently (in part, no doubt, an allergic reaction to the conglomerate takeovers) and California has in the past few years become a publishing center important enough to challenge the Boston, New York (and occasionally Philadelphia) axis. Another reason for optimism is that several firms have been set up, Greenwood is a good example, for the main purpose of issuing standard American works which their original publishers have allowed to go out of print. In other words, these newcomers are profiting from the fact that the old-line houses are no longer interested in their backlists.

But scholars, teachers, students, the reading public and, of course, writers have every reason to worry. The public libraries of the country, which have been leading buyers of books as well as the greatest single haven for readers, are in what looks to be a state of permanent crisis. Bookstores are shutting down, paperback outlets are growing, non-books are year by year absorbing larger shares of the industry's energies and the public's reading time. And though university presses and private enthusiasts may continue to operate in the cracks between the wheels of the corporate giants, they will hardly check the juggernauts. It is hard to think of any commodity whose quality has been improved by being absorbed into a conglomerate, and there is no reason to suppose that books will be an exception. Conglomerates are interested only in the bottom line, and that is not the line on which real authors write. Con-

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glomerates have no taste and no professional pride; what they have is momentum.

All's Well, Maybe

At a recent ceremony in Puerto Rico, Sen. Henry Jackson assured Gov. Hernandez Colon and other dignitaries that the Navy, at long last, has decided to give the island of Culebra back to the islanders. But you never can be quite sure about the Navy; it appears to yield when it has only shifted its position. Senator Jackson was careful to use the future tense: "the federal government's presence will soon terminate," that is, not yet. The Navy is looking around for another island firing range; it may settle on Dog Island as a substitute, again it may not. Long familiar with the ways of the U.S. Navy in such matters, Jaime Benitez, the Resident Commissioner, in responding to Senator Jackson's remarks, injected a note of caution: "The real test of today is always in the future." So cheers should be withheld until the Navy, which has clung to Culebra with the tenacity of the British to Gibraltar, has finally steamed away, leaving the tiny island to peace and quiet. (See editorial, "The Story of Culebra," *The Nation*, August 31, 1970; "Culebra: Island Besieged" by Robert Swann, *The Nation*, March 1, 1971.)

METHADONE IN PRISONS?

EDWARD BUNKER

Heroin addiction in the United States began as a weed in ghettos and barrios after World War II. In those fertile places it grew unnoticed for twenty years, except when needed to make political hay. When a politician noticed, it was to cry for tougher penalties. In California, for ten years, it was mandatory that an addict convicted three times of having *any* amount of heroin serve fifteen calendar years before being eligible for parole. Then, in the 1960s, the epidemic jumped the tracks to the middle class, and even the wealthy, and the politicians began to think of "cure." Indeed, until then marijuana and heroin had been classified the same by the federal government and by most states.

Cure! The hard truth is that heroin addiction has a cure rate of 5 per cent—i.e., it is incurable, for nobody knows why the 5 per cent quit. The government spent millions of dollars on treatment and research of drug addicts at public health service hospitals located in Lexington, Ky. and Fort Worth, Texas. All the government learned was that addicts like sweets when they kick a habit, and that they go back to it at first chance even if they've been clean for years and years.

I'm a dope fiend, aged 41. Someone gave me a fix when I was 15. It's ruined my life, cost me four trips to prison. I've nearly died kicking habits cold turkey, not once but a dozen times. Long ago, something happened to my body chemistry. I'm "normal" when I have a small amount of narcotics in me. I'll undoubtedly use them until the day I die. I hope to get on methadone. Indeed, I was on the waiting list for it—but hooked like a mountain trout—when I got this sentence.

My first "fix" was given me in jail. For every addict cured in jail, two dozen are created. I'm now incarcerated in Terminal Island, between Long Beach and San Pedro. It is one of several institutions with a program established under the Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act, or NARA, which provides that nonviolent addicts guilty of federal crimes can be committed for "treatment." The program, which has existed for about ten years, is a total failure. The recidivism rate exceeds 80 per cent, which doesn't take into account some who don't get caught. Further, the cure figures, awful as they are, don't indicate the many who were not addicts but who claimed to be so to avoid regular prison sentences.

During my months at Terminal Island I've seen nobody cured of drug addiction. However, I have seen half a dozen men *begin* to use heroin. Indeed, I've seen many begin to use it for the first time, and half a dozen become addicts. The NARA staff is so numerous that they trip over one another, while accomplishing nothing.

Heroin is cheaper in Terminal Island than on the streets of Los Angeles. Narcotics is the number-one problem of this institution, and of most minimum- and medium-security institutions. At least two score inmates at Terminal Island are "hooked." Another 150 or more use heroin as they can afford it. (It would be useless even to estimate the use of marijuana and other soft drugs.)

Officials could stop the flow of drugs. They could stop open visiting, shut down the work and school release programs, cancel all furloughs and community trips. Even that wouldn't stop the problem, merely slow it down; and it would be a Pyrrhic victory, for these are the programs that do help a man to prepare for society.

The guards, especially the lieutenants, who are mostly career guards with fixations on punishment, spend all their time trying to get some poor addict to urinate in a bottle. Nearly every day they bust someone for being under the influence. They confiscate fifty, 100, or 150 days' good time, as if that would cure the disease. Logic, however, has little effect on the rote mind.

Several months ago, after having spent $12,000 on narcotics within six months (while imprisoned), I was asked by former Warden Jack Wise to submit a proposal to inaugurate methadone maintenance within the institution. Nothing else has worked, not even in the outside community. Terminal Island's new warden favors the idea, if it is limited to hard-core addicts who volunteer; the chief medical officer, William Freitas, M.D., agrees with the proposal and that NARA is a failure. And the hospital administrator, Ernest Leeman, who has a long career in

Edward Bunker, aged 41, has spent most of his life in prison, serving terms for a variety of offenses that include forgery, burglary, safe-cracking, assault with a deadly weapon and robbery. He published "War Behind Walls" in 1972 (Harper's *magazine*) *and a novel,* No Beast So Fierce, *in 1973* (*W.W. Norton*).

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correction work, frankly states that it has merit because "nothing else has worked."

If you have an epidemic disease and a proven palliative, it seems inexcusable not to use it. Methadone is no cure, neither is insulin for diabetics, nor nitroglycerin for heart patients; like them, it keeps the disease at bay. With addiction, the overt symptoms are crime and the corruption of others. A twenty-year addict is incurable, but on methadone he can become a productive, tax-paying citizen. Even in prison methadone releases him from obsession with dope, so that he can learn a trade. You imprison persons to keep them from harming others—but you should also do something to help them.

The idea isn't even innovative. It's a proven success. Is it better to put a man on methadone or send him out of prison already addicted to heroin? That is precisely what's going on—and the prison administrators are ignoring the fact, and their responsibility.

HIGH STAKES IN THE AZORES

HOWARD B. DRATCH

The Portuguese-controlled Azores have become a key outpost in the intensifying struggle between the United States and Russia for control of the seas. Once a neglected slice of Portugal languishing in the mid-Atlantic, the Azores today loom large in American policy toward the present turbulent Lisbon government and the growing separatist movement on the islands. But not for the reasons most people think.

As the major refueling stop for giant C-5A transports of the sort that flew supplies to Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the Azores are actually no longer essential. The C-5As could, if necessary, now fly directly to Israel by carrying more fuel and less cargo. On the other hand, the naval bases in the Azores are a critical link in a billion-dollar network of submarine tracking stations that enable the United States to monitor Soviet missile-launching submarines in Atlantic waters. And more may lie beneath the surface than Soviet subs alone: last August, former CIA agent Philip Agee warned, "The separatist movement in the Azores, already gaining momentum among U.S. residents of Azorian origin, may be promoted by the CIA as a last resort for preserving U.S. military bases there."

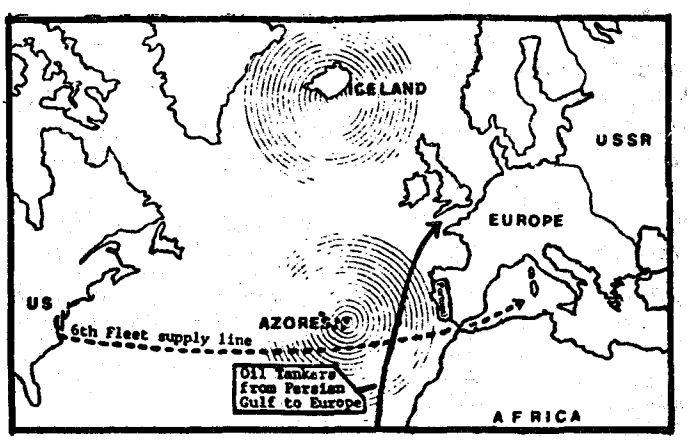
Pentagon strategists regard the rapidly growing Soviet nuclear submarine fleet as our top military threat. The USSR now has 110 nuclear and 250 diesel subs cruising the ocean depths, many of them near the U.S. coast. Thirty of the nuclear subs, in what NATO calls the "Yankee" class, carry sixteen missiles each, with a range of 1,800 miles. In a strategic conflict at the highest level one of these subs could strike cities like Washington or New York.

But while these missile subs get most of the publicity, Navy planners are equally worried about the eighty attack subs of the "Charlie" class. These carry short-range "cruise" missiles that can be launched from under the sea. A single hit by one of these sophisticated Soviet anti-ship missiles could send a U.S. destroyer or a big supertanker to the bottom in minutes.

The Azores—a seven-island archipelago 800 nautical miles west of Lisbon—are uniquely situated to monitor any Soviet sub in the Atlantic or the western Mediterranean within a 1,000-mile radius. Navy Secretary J. William Middendorf told Congress last March 18, "There is nothing in the world which compares to the strategic importance . . . of the Azores and Iceland" (the other key U.S. base in the Atlantic). Now with the sharp change of political power in Lisbon, the leases of U.S. bases on the Azores islands of Terceira and San Miguel are being "renegotiated." Should they be canceled, the Pentagon would have a gaping hole in its tracking capabilities.

In addition to guarding against Soviet sub attacks on the United States, the Azores tracking stations safeguard—and control—access to Western Europe's major sea links to the outside world. The islands straddle the main supertanker route linking the Persian Gulf via the Cape of Good Hope to European ports; it is vital for crude oil carriers that are too big for the Suez Canal. The Azores also lie midway along the 4,000-mile sea lane linking the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean to its main supply bases on the U.S. East Coast. The fleet maintains ports of call within the Mediterranean, at Naples, Italy, and Sardinia, but it relies ultimately on an uninhibited flow of ammunition, supplies, food and fuel from the United States to maintain dominant naval control in the region.

United States plans assume that if there is a conventional war between the U.S.-led NATO forces and those of the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact for control of Europe, the primary mission of Soviet subs would be to sever the sea links. A recurring Pentagon nightmare is that Soviet naval forces could sink tankers bound for Europe and effectively attack the U.S. Sixth Fleet supply line, thereby strangling sea access to Western Europe. The specter of Europe



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sputtering to a halt without oil haunts the Pentagon's war rooms.

To keep the oil tankers moving and the Sixth Fleet supplied, the U.S. Navy's main job in an all-out war would be to detect and destroy the USSR's submarines, particularly around "choke points" like the Straits of Gibraltar. The Azores are crammed with the most sophisticated submarine tracking devices and anti-sub weapons in the world.

Forming the core of this vast apparatus are a series of sonar surveillance devices called the Azores Fixed Acoustics Range, installed on the underwater slopes of the volcanically formed islands that rise 2.5 miles above the ocean floor. This system, rigged to pick up submarine "signatures," can detect sub traffic into or out of the Mediterranean. Its signals are fed into the computers at the naval listening station at Ponta Delgada, on the island of San Miguel.

Over on neighboring Terceira Island, the ground crews at Lajes Air Force Base are kept jumping by the constant takeoff and landings of Lockheed P-3 Orions. These land-based anti-submarine planes carry a wide variety of detection and destruction equipment, including depth charges, mines, torpedoes and sonobuoys. Each plane first sows the sea with sonobuoys, small objects equipped with hydrophones that listen for underwater signals, then relay them by radio to the aircraft and computers on land. Once the sub's exact position is fixed, U.S. aircraft, destroyers or hunter-killer subs can move in for the kill.

Terceira also serves as an auxiliary base for U.S. hunter-killer submarines stationed at Rota, Spain. These very quiet subs, designed to stalk and sink their Soviet counterparts, are the single most effective anti-submarine weapon in the U.S. arsenal. They stealthily prowl the waters around the Azores, occasionally stopping in on their way back to Rota near Gibraltar.

Completing the Navy's Azores-centered undersea surveillance system are the carrier-based SH-3 helicopters and S-3A anti-submarine aircraft, that can range 600 miles ahead of a convoy or task force and sow sonobuoy fields as they go.

The Pentagon's overall anti-submarine warfare program is costing U.S. taxpayers an estimated $6 billion in the current fiscal year. And while the Navy won't talk about the specifics of its Azores installations, they account for a healthy chunk of that total. There are 1,500 American military men stationed there, twice that figure, counting families. To keep the operation going costs $13.8 million a year in military payroll alone, much of which is paid to Portuguese islanders who perform maintenance and support functions. Facilities like the officers' clubs, the American TV and radio stations, the elegant golf course and other services give the American presence on the islands huge economic importance.

So far, the Lisbon government has not changed the status of the U.S. bases, but it has nationalized the banks, insurance companies and other major enterprises on the islands, and workers' committees have been formed. Many Azorians, including those with a stake in the continued flow of American cash, would rather become independent or affiliate with the United States if Portugal takes the road to communism. This pro-U.S. sentiment is strengthened by kinship ties to communities of Portuguese-Americans in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The secessionists began by protesting against progressives in municipal government posts, but during the month of August their demonstrations took a sharply violent turn. Offices of the Communist Party were burned and angry crowds attacked leftists in the streets of Terceira and San Miguel. Meanwhile, several left-wing unions have called on workers to join the struggle against "reactionaries," who are described as seeking to secede in order to protect their privileges.

The small Communist Party has reportedly been working for agrarian reform among the peasants who form two-thirds of the islands' population. Rural reconstruction work is also part of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement's "dynamization" campaign to improve conditions in rural areas, install electricity, build roads, and provide economic aid.

In this sharply polarized situation it seems likely that if the Portuguese Government seeks a showdown over the U.S. bases, many conservative islanders would defy Lisbon. Suspicions run high that the American CIA is behind the separatist movement, but as yet there is no clear evidence to support this charge. There can be no doubt, however, that the Pentagon is working diligently to avoid losing this vital link in its sub-tracking network. □

DEPRESSION AND THE WELFARE STATE

DEAD END OF AN IDEOLOGY

DAVID BENSMAN & LUTHER CARPENTER

Only twenty years ago, American intellectuals pronounced ideology dead. Today, President Ford makes no bones about following an economic ideology which accepts mass unemployment for the rest of the decade as an acceptable price for a stabilized capitalism. Fearing intolerably high levels of joblessness, liberal Democratic leaders counter with the idea of full employment, though as yet they have no programs to achieve it. The ideological character of the American welfare state is being revealed in a way that neither Irving Kristol nor Walter Heller ever imagined, and serious questions about the viability of that concept cannot be dismissed.

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The welfare state, as liberals called it, or corporate liberalism, as young radicals preferred to term it, rested on the assumption that American wealth would continue to grow faster than population. That being so, it would be possible to provide working Americans with an ever rising standard of living without redistributing wealth or challenging the dominance of the corporations in the political economy. Indeed, the system used its social service programs to mask the essential function of an expanded federal government—which was to rescue capitalism from its disastrous tendency to depression. This was thought to be easy: Keynesian counter-cyclical doctrine said that the federal government had merely to prime the pump every time the economy threatened to run dry.

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But if the American economy no longer grows faster than its population, it cannot achieve improved standards of living without redistributing income. And if it cannot generate jobs faster than the labor force increases, it will continue to generate mass unemployment. The welfare state consensus cannot survive without continuous, rapid economic expansion.

The foundations of the entire edifice are indeed crumbling. The cracks in the economy radiate in several directions at once—mass unemployment, inflation, structural changes at home and abroad and long-range limits to growth. Keynesian economics, which kept us out of depression between 1945 and 1974, cannot paper over all the cracks at once. So now President Ford admits that his stone-hearted Keynesianism cannot deal with unemployment, while he entirely ignores all long-term problems. Decreased foreign demand for American manufactured goods, for example, is a major new problem that receives little federal attention. The problem is that Keynesianism relies on too narrow a range of weapons: federal deficit spending, tax cuts and rebates, banking regulation and unemployment relief. Furthermore, the aim of these weapons is deflected by the social structure so that they never quite achieve the results intended.

As far as mass unemployment is concerned, the problem, for both Ford and the liberals, is that Keynesian "trickle-down" theories don't work very well. Democratic and Republican administrations alike have given money primarily to the corporate sector and to the rich. They hoped that it would seep down to alleviate poverty and spur consumer demand, and then percolate back up to stimulate investment and private jobs.

The spring 1975 "tax rebate" was just such a venture in trickle-down economics. Congress cut taxes by $22 billion, assuming that such money would do more good if spent by the private sector than if spent by the government. The first effect of the rebates was to boost retail sales temporarily, cutting down inventories on such goods as unsold cars and houses. That was supposed to free auto manufacturers and builders to hire the workers they had laid off last winter. It's not working, for employers lack confidence that the sales pickups will be permanent; they wonder whether suburban housing or car sales will ever again grow at the pace they set in the past quarter-century. Housing analysts fear that rising costs of fuel, for heating and car travel, will forever price the masses out of the suburban market. And in the automobile industry, private and government rebates encouraged buyers only to get their new cars a little sooner; the basic problem of overproduction remains. Few auto workers were re-employed.

Outside such basic economic sectors, the trickling down of tax revenue has not put black youths or the urban jobless back to work. Stimulation of the corporate economy, in its gleaming, sprawling suburban headquarters, does not reach into deteriorating urban economies. There are two problems, mutually reinforcing. One is that stimulation of healthy industries does not help vulnerable ones. Expansionary industries are largely dominated by giant corporations; in recessionary times, or during booming inflations, even in our modern stagflation, they can use monopolistic devices to preserve their prices and profits. Indeed, hard times help them knock out competition and discipline the labor force. But vulnerable industries, which are mostly older and suffer either from relative decline (autos and steel) or intense competition (textiles, construction), find the well still dry. While healthy industries can reach full capacity and resume price inflation (as in paper production), their weak analogues stay depressed. While the healthy industries can pass along the benefits of recovery to a favored portion of their employees, in textiles there are no such gains.

Here the first economic problem dovetails with the second. The favored employees of the wealthy corporations tend to live outside the hard-hit cities of the Northeast and Midwest—in suburbs and in rapidly growing parts of the South and Southwest. Indeed, the tax rebates further widen the gap between booming Southwest and deteriorating Northeast, not only by boosting certain industries but also by giving bigger tax rebates to wealthier people. In the declining cities, many pay no income taxes, so their neighborhoods feel no new influx of spending. And the poor cannot get to the few jobs that open up elsewhere. At the same time, state and local governments, which have recently been the prime employers of the urban poor, have had to cut their budgets, partly because of local economic decline, partly because Republican policy is to "share" revenue more with the suburbs than with the city.

In sum, geographical segregation reinforces the disparity between thriving and hard-hit industries, so that tax rebates encourage inflation in favored sectors without alleviating unemployment in hard-hit ones. The Keynesian emphasis on the *quantity* of money pumped into the economy, blindly ignoring the direction or *quality* of such stimulation, results in economic staggering, rather than balanced recovery.

Ultimately, the success of the Keynesian strategy depends on its ability to stimulate new investment. The tasks of investment are to provide jobs, change the structure of the economy and maintain growth. At present, our economy does not generate enough investment. To explain why, we must first dispose of the orthodox capitalist remedy for a shortage of investment. In early April, Chase Manhattan sponsored full-page ads in *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* which

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asserted that the United States now lacks sufficient capital to make the investments needed to rebuild deteriorating sectors of our society and to get the economy going again. The capitalists' solution is predictable: they want more profits. Chase urged the federal government to follow policies that would boost corporate income and thus provide new investments in real capital. President Ford and his chief economic advisers are sympathetic to this plea, and we will soon have legislation to satisfy it.

Nevertheless, we must say that there is no credit shortage in the United States today. The Federal Reserve Board has followed a moderately expansionist policy for months. Insurance companies continue to have billions to invest, as do pension funds. "Money is pouring into the nation's savings banks and savings and loan associations in a record flood," *The New York Times* reported on April 14. Mutual savings banks alone gained $1 billion in deposits in March, more than during any previous month in history. Even though some savings have recently flowed out into treasury notes, savings banks still have considerable uninvested funds. The big commercial banks are so prosperous that they can increase their loan loss reserves without squeezing profits. In 1974, five corporations (Exxon, IBM, Texaco, Mobil and Gulf) reported net income greater than $1 billion. In the first quarter of 1975, U.S. Steel doubled its earnings to $182 million. This rise occurred despite a sharp drop in output. Though its profits are now at record level, and it is operating far below capacity, the steel industry raised prices again on October 1. It really doesn't need Chase's help, or new government favors, to produce sufficient profits.

The fact is, however, that American businesses are investing less. In the first quarter of 1975, according to The Conference Board, capital appropriations by the 1,000 largest corporations declined sharply. The profitable oil companies even canceled nearly $1 billion of approved appropriations. The problem is not a shortage of funds for investment; rather, a set of misallocations and blockages siphon off funds from uses that would produce useful goods and jobs.

First, American capitalism can't find investments that look to be profitable. The American economy will have to be restructured, but corporate leaders are not equipped to think out the necessary changes. For the last thirty years, cheap energy and high demand for American goods in Japan and Europe shaped the American economy. These factors encouraged the expansion of high-capital, low-employment industries, such as petrochemicals, and enticed millions of Americans into the growing suburban economy. High-cost energy, combined with decreased foreign demand, will sharply curtail American growth and leave the economy directionless. There is now no bellwether industry, as railroads were in the 1880s or autos in the 1920s, in which massive investment will spur the whole economy. The last bellwether industry, aerospace, was totally dependent on government investment. Kissinger's frantic attempts to increase American arms sales show that the Ford administration still believes armaments to be a growth industry, but it is unthinkable that armaments can carry the economy for long. The most likely area for massive new investment is energy but, even here, investors are reluctant. The oil companies will undertake expansion only if they are guaranteed much higher prices, and freedom to drill in the continental shelf off the Atlantic coast. The companies that had shown interest in the Athabasca oil sands in Canada and in oil from shale have withdrawn or postponed commercial exploitation of these resources, despite the price rises they have already obtained; utility companies are postponing construction of nuclear power plants. In the end, only the government can undertake such investments in energy—preferably through a public energy corporation.

Lacking profitable investment opportunities at home, financial institutions look abroad. Since 1967, U.S. banks have increased the assets in their overseas branches sixteen times, to $150 billion. "In addition," reports Robert C. Holland, a governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, "U.S. banks engage in international financing activities at their domestic offices as well as through investments in foreign subsidiaries and affiliate corporations." Such activity has brought about a situation where "for some of the largest United States banks, foreign branch activity (alone) accounts for between one-third and one-half of their business." This activity is a major reason for the failure of the Federal Reserve's expansionary monetary policy, and shows how the financial system defeats even those feeble gestures that the government makes toward encouraging investment. In the fourth quarter of 1974, when the unemployment rate jumped to 8.2 per cent and the Federal Reserve worked vigorously to "prime the pump" of economic recovery, American capital exports reached record levels. According to the Commerce Department's March survey, America's largest banks were heavily responsible. And the Federal Reserve is moving to make it still easier for banks to lend overseas. On April 9, the *American Banker* quoted Federal Reserve Board Governor Holland as saying that "the Federal Reserve Bank is moving away from a go-slow policy by which it has sought for the past year to get the banks to limit their overseas expansion in favor of building their capital bases." If we are ever to get the investment we need to create jobs, we must have new legislation to curtail speculative lending abroad. Such lending, whether by Americans, Europeans or Arabs, often does not lead to genuine investment in new productive facilities. Instead it creates instability and often generates political resentment.

As for the money that stays at home, America's financial institutions have many uses for it that do not lead to job-creating investment. They buy paper, often from one another. According to Hyman P. Minsky of Washington University, "In a sophisticated financial system, organizations like banks, insurance companies and savings and loan associations issue their own types of liabilities. There is a vast layered debt structure that exists alongside the production and consumption units of the economy." The volume of this paper now distracts banks and other lenders from productive investments. Large corporations are refunding their bank loans by issuing capital market securities. Banks "invest" in short-term corporate notes or government securities, instead of placing money in housing construction. Financial institutions add to their liquid reserves, rather than use their new purchasing power. This crazy flow of paper boosts the interest rates on long-term notes, which are now high compared to rates on both medium-term bonds (1 per cent higher) and short-term

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bonds (3 to 4 per cent higher).

These discrepancies in rates reflect the banks' premium for liquidity. In the 1960s, the banks ignored their liquidity and lent extensively to industry and housing construction. This increased the ratio of loans to deposits until it reached 84.4 per cent, an unprecedented figure, for "large New York City banks" in 1974. Moreover, to finance such heavy lending, banks had to issue high-cost certificates of deposit and to borrow money in a big way. As a result of these changes, when the specter of massive loan defaults arose in 1974, banks became exceedingly apprehensive. They began shoring up their liquidity positions as best they could. One way was to use new deposits generated by the Federal Reserve's expansionary policy as reserves against their far-flung loans.

Bank liquidity problems have become a major, though neglected, drag on liberals' dreams of recovery through monetary tinkering. Nor is this merely an unfortunate delay. It is likely that the United States will miss a whole cycle of investment. If the tax rebates do revive the more fortunate parts of American business, they will move into renewed inflation about when banks might consider their liquidity restored. But instead of being permitted to engage in more investment, the banks will then be halted by a new tightening of monetary policy designed to smother the inflation. The Federal Reserve's tight money policy in the summer of 1975 illustrates this threat to investment. It is the classical pattern of "stop-go," invented in Britain but likely to frustrate Keynesian investment policies in America as well.

These basic problems in the structure of investment cannot be solved by welfare state liberalism. Liberals cannot respond by intensifying their efforts to redistribute income, for redistributing income—to the masses, rather than to the banks and the corporations as Ford's tax policy is now doing—would require a concerted political attack on the power of the Presidency, on conservative Congressional leaders, on banks, oil companies, auto makers, conglomerates and multinational corporations. American liberals have always preferred to accommodate such foes, rather than combat them. Redistributing income requires a power struggle of the sort that welfare liberalism abhors. Indeed, one might say that the American, and the European, welfare state is a substitute for class struggle.

If a liberal Congress held the reins of power today, it would undoubtedly try to expand social spending on public service jobs, mass transit, housing, medical security and energy development. In addition, it would try to provide tax relief for the masses, reform the tax structure somewhat, impose wage, price and profit controls and cut the arms budget (but not too much in the wake of North Vietnamese victory). That program might appear adequate, for it reflects liberal assumptions about the economy which have been unchallenged since the death of ideology. It could never go far enough, however, because it would run into the structural defects in the economy that have been examined above.

An expansion of social spending sufficient to bring down unemployment (when the labor force is growing at a rate of 4 per cent a year) would cause so large a federal budget deficit that the economy, as currently constituted, could not cope. Where would needed federal revenues come from? We have tax cuts, which no politician opposes, but those cuts so deplete federal money available for social programs that even if we closed tax loopholes and cut military spending, we would still fall far short.

What would happen if the hypothetical liberal government tried to run the economy with a budget deficit of $100 billion to $150 billion, together with wage, price and profit controls? (In reality, no liberal government would adhere so consistently to its principles. Instead, it would try to survive the recession.) The corporate system would collapse. The cost of interest would increase enormously in response to government borrowing. High interest rates would halt housing construction and industrial expansion. Corporations facing higher taxes on top of higher energy costs would find their profits squeezed unbearably. The

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stock market would crash.

This should come as no surprise. In past decades, retained corporate earnings have been the basis of industrial expansion. When corporate managers denounce profit controls and cry for investment credits, they have a point. Profits are the cornerstone of our economic system.

A liberal program, even one far short of the massive social spending program outlined above, would nevertheless make living with crisis somewhat more tolerable than does President Ford's program. But under Ford and under liberal Democrats alike, a redistribution of wealth to the rich and intolerably high levels of unemployment are virtually assured for as long as we can see.

We must re-examine our ideological assumptions. Instead of going on with welfare-state priorities on public service jobs and social payments that palliate unemployment, we have to obtain for the unemployed and the working poor what they really want: jobs. To provide jobs would require a change in the investment mechanism of the American economy. Control over investment would have to shift from banks and corporations to the public. We would have to "socialize investment." Michael Harrington has described what such socialization might entail:

—Federal banks, to provide yardsticks by which to measure social responsibility in the private banking system.

—Credit rationing by the federal government. Banks would be required to devote part of their capital to investment in socially desirable ventures.

—Federal control of investment decisions. We could deny corporations absolute control over plant sitings; we could deny them freedom to invest or speculate in enterprises outside their own industry..

—Public members should sit on boards of corporations, and be responsible for making public the criteria on which investment decisions are based.

—Banks should be required to disclose their investments.

—The Commerce Department should work with the United Nations to monitor the capital flows of multinational corporations.

An important part of the machinery for socializing investment would be a National Investment Bank, whose purpose would be to create lasting jobs that would strengthen the economies of the declining regions and central cities. To do that, the bank would have to be able to finance productive and profitable industries that would have a good chance of surviving because they produce goods that Americans need. For example, the bank could take over the responsibility for major projects such as developing energy sources, with the understanding that these projects could be beneficial to the economy as a whole without themselves showing a profit. The bank's resources should be divided into two categories, with different ways of measuring success. Those projects that are not designed to make a profit should be financed by grants from Congress. Those that are to be profit making should be financed from the bank's own funds, which could be created by giving the bank jurisdiction over the investable reserves of the Federal Reserve Bank, the Social Security funds and the Highway Trust Fund.

It would be important that the bank not be restricted to building public monuments, as was the Works Progress Administration, because to a large degree public-works jobs disappear when the buildings are up. Corporate America would be only too glad to see the bank become a dumping ground for public housing and chronically ill industries, leaving the gravy for the corporate sector. While public housing and other public works are certainly worthwhile, other agencies should continue to be responsible for building them. The siting of these public works should be coordinated with the bank, but the bank should not finance them. This limitation of functions should help prevent the bank from becoming a bureaucratic monster.

In making investment decisions, the bank should not be bound rigidly by financial criteria. Creating a larger number of jobs for the same amount of capital, or creating a more desirable kind of job, should offset the projection of a somewhat higher rate of return. The bank should be directed to invest in areas with high unemployment rates. It should require that the new industries provide jobs accessible to the jobless by public transportation. In addition, such industries would have to be given funds to train unskilled workers and dropouts and to provide support services for ex-addicts and ex-cons.

These social priorities will prevail, and bureaucratic insensitivity will be avoided, only if public participation is built into the bank's decisions on two levels. First, the authority's members must include trade union representatives (bank and corporate representatives will sneak in as "public-spirited citizens," as they did on New York's "Big MAC" and Emergency Finance Control Board). Second, city governments, trade unions and regional authorities must be allowed to plan projects for the bank to fund. If private industries are allowed to receive authority funds, the assets created must remain public property and rent on them must be paid to the bank or to a regional development authority. Private enterprises should also have to abide by fair employment codes. In sum, these social criteria for creating accessible, worthwhile jobs will have to be balanced off against traditional ways of estimating the potential market and economic return for new plants, since we don't want the bank and the depressed areas to be saddled with losers.

Federal and state banks alone will not suffice for the big job outlined above, for their funds would not come close to the $40 billion or more a year that U.S. corporations invest. If the private banking system's capital is permitted to go only to short-term paper, overseas markets and refinancing corporate debt, the public bank's efforts will be thwarted. Moreover, corporate decision making cannot be allowed to contradict and thereby balk planning and investment. We will have to adopt some form of credit allocation. Future banking legislation should divert bank capital from overseas investment, and prevent entirely capital exports for purely speculative purposes. Within the United States, corporate conglomeration should not be allowed to drain away needed funds.

But perhaps the most comprehensive control that would not be impossibly complicated to administer would be to require a license for new physical investment beyond a certain size. The planning authority could use its licensing power to prohibit new industries from settling in areas that

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were already at full employment, and thus divert such industries to needier areas. It could prevent the building of plants that would be major polluters or destroyers of the public's resources and energy. Government offices and facilities should also be planned to satisfy the bank's social criteria. In this way our economic growth could become more suited to ecological limitations without sacrificing the controlled growth we need to create jobs.

Recent Congressional activity shows what is *not* socialization of investment. We are seeing programs of aid for hard-hit and politically powerful industries, such as the housing bill that provides $2 billion in mortgage guarantees to the housing industry, and the clause in the unemployment bill that requires the government to buy more cars. President Ford vetoed both bills, but we can expect renewed efforts in this direction. What's wrong with the approach? First, the bills are aimed to help not the hard-core unemployed and working poor who suffer most but the corporations and taxpayers with the most influence. Second, the approach stabilizes industries that may well have to contract and be replaced by other industries more compatible with high energy costs and other structural changes. Third, there is no guarantee that the money would be used as intended. For example, Secretary Simon's proposal to lower taxes on utility companies could very well give New York's Con Edison the capital to build new power plants in the metropolitan area. While Con Ed executives relish expansion for its own sake, the public might well ask if there are not better places to produce energy than in the midst of a great metropolis. Such piecemeal proposals are pathetic substitutes for public planning and investment.

Socializing investment will not happen overnight, but if we make it our goal, we can progress further than we would if we stayed within the comfortable, but outmoded, welfare-state consensus. Welfare-state liberalism will inevitably be frustrated by the limits created by structural changes, expensive energy, inflation and the economic power of industrial and financial institutions. If we put meaningful jobs at the center of our program, and demonstrate that socializing investment is the only way to provide them, we can turn around the current defeatism in liberal and working-class politics. We will no longer be vulnerable to George Wallace's demagogic attacks on behalf of "the little man." We can even meet the challenges of a new world economic order. □

CHILE: TWILIGHT OF THE GOONS

PETER WINN

Two years ago I witnessed the bloody end of Salvador Allende's "peaceful road to socialism"—the bombed-out Presidential palace, the burning shantytowns, the soccer stadium filled with prisoners, the trucks stacked with bodies. During the weeks following the coup, the Chilean armed forces killed 25,000 of their compatriots and destroyed the democracy they had sworn to defend, a national tradition as old and proud as their own.

All this was justified in the name of "saving the nation," although the enemy at the gate varied with the general interviewed, ranging from "constitutional violations" and "runaway inflation" to "the Marxist cancer" and "the last fifty years of Chilean history." Still, in a country beset by acute economic crisis, social conflict and political polarization, perhaps half the population initially supported the new military government, expecting it to be moderate and transitional.

The night of the coup, I listened to Chile's new rulers promise their divided nation "a peace without victors or vanquished" and a government of national reconciliation and economic reconstruction. They guaranteed to workers and peasants the "social and economic conquests" won under Allende and pledged that no one would be persecuted for his or her ideas. Although the Chilean road to socialism had come to an end, the junta stressed that the armed forces were above politics and would be guided only by the national interest.

Today, it is clear that the junta has failed to fulfill its promises or accomplish its objectives. It has justified the expectations of only a privileged minority of its original supporters, while dashing the hopes of the majority. Moreover, its arbitrary, brutal and inept rule has exceeded the worst fears of its opponents. After two years, there is neither unity nor economic reconstruction and the Chilean military continue to rule like an army of occupation—in their own country.

The junta has imposed a peace with few victors and too many vanquished. Once famed for its political liberty and civil rights, Chile is now notorious for its concentration camps, political prisoners and institutionalized torture. The Constitution remains suspended, the Congress closed, the press silenced or censored. Political parties have been banned or "recessed," trade unions proscribed or emasculated. The junta has tried to replace Chile's traditional pluralism, which General Pinochet claims "serves the interests of Marxism," with an authoritarian ideology and the totalitarian conformity of a militarized police state. Chile's secret police, the DINA, is advised by Walter Rauff, the ex-SS colonel who was Martin Bormann's assistant for the extermination of European Jewry.

Nor have these political costs been "justified" by economic success. The junta and its American-trained economists, known locally as "Los Chicago Boys," have hastened to restore a *laissez-faire* capitalism that Chile has not known for decades, in a vain attempt to work another Brazilian miracle. Industry has been denationalized, the regulation of business minimized and the government budget pared. Prices have been allowed to rise freely (*à la* Chicago), while wages have been rigidly controlled (*à la*

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Brazil). The result has been socioeconomic disaster.

The price of necessities has risen 2,000 per cent in two years and even the current official inflation of 370 per cent a year is the world's highest. Though wages have risen, real wages have been cut in half—for those fortunate enough to have jobs. The junta's political and economic policies have produced an unemployment rate of more than 20 per cent, with a matching decline in industrial production—a deepening depression that will mean a 10 per cent drop in GNP this year. Social spending has been slashed, while proliferating military outlays have created a balance of payments deficit that the World Bank predicts will be $1 billion for 1975. The junta's economic strategy calls for still further decreases in production and employment during the coming year, the device of fighting inflation with depression. Two years after, the Chilean economy is in far worse shape than under Allende—and likely to remain so.

Far from allotting equally the costs of its stillborn "national reconstruction," the junta has insured that the burden of its economic austerity falls upon the poorest sectors of the population. The result has been a dramatic impoverishment of the Chilean wage earner, a return to conditions not seen in Chile for decades. Families reduced to a diet of bread and tea have become common; beggars are now a familiar sight. Indeed, *The New York Times* reports (September 21) that "malnutrition is the rule in Santiago shantytowns," where the unemployment rate approaches 50 per cent. Many workers can no longer afford bus fare to their jobs; teachers report schoolchildren fainting from hunger.

The Chilean middle class may not be starving, but it too has suffered a precipitous decline in its living standards. Economic depression, joined with inflation and a credit squeeze, has forced many small businessmen into bankruptcy; statistics on such failures are no longer published.

Only a privileged minority has gained from the junta's economic policies: real estate speculators and commercial middlemen, who buy cheap and sell dear; the wealthiest of the Chilean elite (and their mushrooming "finance companies"), who are buying up bankrupt firms at bargain prices. To this list must be added the military themselves, the one group of wage earners whose incomes have risen faster than inflation. The effect—and intent—of the junta's economic policies has been a massive negative redistribution of income in favor of the rich. Although in September 1973 General Pinochet talked of the need for all Chileans "to sacrifice for the national reconstruction," two years later the economy is in ruins and it is all too clear who has been sacrificed to whom.

The junta's repressive politics and regressive economics have produced a precipitous decline in its popular support and a rise in those who oppose it passively or resist it actively. Although the clandestine resistance has yet to prove itself militarily, it has become a symbolic political success. Despite the brutal, computerized repression and important losses of leadership and cadres, the resistance has survived. The proscribed political parties and labor unions have reorganized underground and replaced their losses. At local levels, where "resistance committees" unite Chileans of many political persuasians, the resistance has recently begun a campaign of economic sabotage, work stoppages and political propaganda.

The mere survival of the resistance is a political fact of significance, which symbolizes the failure of the junta's political enterprise. The military has not been able to "extirpate Marxism," destroy the leftist parties and unions or permanently demobilize the workers who support them. The government has not even been able to consolidate political stability, as the continuation of the nightly curfew and state of siege demonstrates, nor has it been able to win political legitimacy, as the increasingly broad opposition to continued misrule attests.

Among those in opposition now are many who led the fight to overthrow Allende two years ago, and now repent of their actions. Anti-Communist labor leaders and intellectuals protest their own loss of liberty. Businessmen who have been sacrificed to the dogma of Chicago economics and oligarchic self-interest have become hostile to the junta, while the middle-class guilds (*gremios*), whose strikes set up the coup, are increasingly vocal in their misery. Even the aristocratic "conservative" wing of the rightist National Party now opposes a regime that has violated Chile's political traditions and failed to turn the government back to its civilian elites.

Most important of all, the Christian Democrats, the country's largest party, have joined the opposition, giving proof of rising middle-class discontent. Its left wing, led by ex-Vice President Bernardo Leighton and Renan Fuentealba, a past party president, has begun to collaborate with the exiled Chilean Left. Even the party's dominant right wing, which responds to ex-President Eduardo Frei, has moved into an increasingly open opposition to the junta, after lending critical assistance to its seizure of power. The military has lost political support more rapidly and more decisively than did any previous Chilean Government and would be lucky to win 20 per cent of the vote in a free election—which is why General Pinochet says there will be none during his lifetime.

The growing domestic isolation of the junta is matched by its increasing ostracism abroad. Such diverse organizations as the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS), the World Bank and the International Labor Organization (ILO) have condemned its policies. The junta's recent decision to bar the U.N. Commission on Human Rights is a self-accusation unlikely to improve its international image.

The regime has provoked a global revulsion that transcends geographical and ideological frontiers. Not just Communist Russia and revolutionary Algeria have broken relations with the junta but also Social Democratic Sweden and Christian Democratic Italy. Mexico has also suspended diplomatic relations, while the junta's ties with Peru and Venezuela are strained. Chile is rapidly becoming an international pariah, an embarrassing and inconvenient position for a dependent nation.

This is reflected in the junta's declining ability to secure international financing, the combined consequence of economic failure and political notoriety. Even at the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Inter-American Development Bank, it has run into bureaucratic delays and entangling conditions that will restrict further borrowing. Moreover, although the United States is the only Western democracy to support the junta, the opposition of Congress

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to significant bilateral aid to Chile makes any constricting of the multilateral financial tap a serious blow to the junta's already slim chances for economic recovery.

More serious still is European opposition to renegotiation of Chile's huge international debt. At the May meeting of the Paris Club, which Britain and Italy boycotted, five other nations refused to renegotiate, while West Germany imposed tough conditions, which should reduce the prospective 1975 balance of payments deficit only to $750 million, an enormous sum which falling copper prices are unlikely to erase. The junta is now trying to get a loan from the Shah of Iran, an example of magic-carpet political economy that is unlikely to succeed, but attests to its desperation.

More probable is continued financing by private U.S. banks. Manufacturers Hanover headed a loan consortium last year and First National City is currently negotiating a $70-million loan. Such sums, however, are drops in the junta's bucket of financial need and Citibank now seems to be hesitating before adding yet another bankrupt government to a long list of such debtors, headed by New York City. Shareholder criticism may also cause General Motors to reconsider its plan to invest in Chilean automobile assembly plants. Significantly, despite the junta's continual announcements of prospective multimillion-dollar investments, only $2 million in private foreign capital has actually been invested in Chile during the past two years—less even than during Allende's road to socialism. As a result, the military has become increasingly dependent upon the support of Washington, whose efficacious assistance is now limited by the junta's bad press and international isolation. Only massive U.S. aid or a doubling of copper prices can save the Chilean economy. Neither is likely.

Economically bankrupt, politically isolated and internationally ostracized, the junta's days are numbered and the struggle for the succession has begun. The navy and air force, even more elitist and rightist than the army, have publicly distanced themselves from General Pinochet —and with suspiciously "Populist" rationales, such as air force chief Leigh's attack on the current economic policy for its "unacceptable social costs."

Without help from army dissidents, however, the other services are not likely to force Pinochet from power. To guard against that possibility, the President has used DINA to rid the army of potential challengers, but at the cost of storing up military hostages to political (and economic) bad fortune. The most dramatic confirmation of a power struggle within the army was the death of General Bonilla, the Minister of Defense. in a highly suspicious helicopter crash which coincided with a purge of his supporters in the officer corps. Bonilla, the most personally attractive of the men who engineered the coup, had been Frei's aide-de-camp and represented a more Populist style of military autocracy, perhaps with Christian Democratic participation.

Bonilla's death makes General Arrellano the most likely army alternative to Pinochet. Also a former Frei aide, Arrellano is currently both army chief of staff and in charge of preparing for a possible war with Peru. He is using both posts to advance his ambitions, with recent reports placing him at officers' meetings where Pinochet's ouster was discussed.

However, Bonilla's other political legacy, an "authoritarian military Populism," has been inherited by General Leigh, whose neo-Fascist sympathies are well-known. Leigh has been joined by Orlando Saenz, spokesman for the smaller Chilean entrepreneurs, by the neo-Fascist Fatherland and Liberty group and by leaders of some of the middle-class guilds. Chilean fascism, however, is unlikely to get off the ground, any more than has Pinochet's "creole Catholic authoritarianism." It is too late for such rightist pipe dreams to succeed. Neither the junta's bankrupt economy, nor its rapidly eroding political base will support them. They represent the desperate attempt of the far Right to save its anachronistic enterprise from the decisive defeat that the devolution of power to civilians—even the conservative politicians of the Center-Right—would signify.

Yet, that shift to civilians is precisely what is in the cards, although the game may be played out over many months and preceded by other purely military moves, such as Pinochet's replacement by Arrellano or a new, more moderate junta. Significantly, the deck itself is marked "Made in U.S.A." (as are most of Chile's military equipment and officer corps) and the devolution strategy bears Washington's stamp of approval and perhaps even Henry Kissinger's personal seal.

As a result, the exiled Left and alienated Center are trying to assemble a viable civilian alternative, one acceptable in both Santiago and Washington. Given the heterogeneity of ideologies and interests represented, it is not surprising that several competing strategies for ousting the junta have been put forward, each linked to a differing perception of the existing situation and vision of the New Chile that should succeed it.

Within the Left, two opposing positions have emerged, identified with the groups possessing the greatest ideological and organizational coherence—the Communists and the far Left MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left)—although both claim support from other sectors. Viewing the horror of the junta and its military strength, the Communist Party draws the conclusion that the sufferings of the people and the paralysis of politics must be relieved by negotiation as rapidly and painlessly as possible, not by a long and uncertain armed struggle. The ouster of the junta and the ending of repression are the priorities and a broad civilian front is the strategy, even at the cost of compromises with the Center and acceptance of a Frei government, as the first step back to political normalcy. In ideological terms, this is justified by defining the junta as "Fascist," to which the appropriate response is a "united front of all the democratic forces," as in Europe during World War II. As an agreement with the Christian Democrats has long been the Communist aim, it was not sur-

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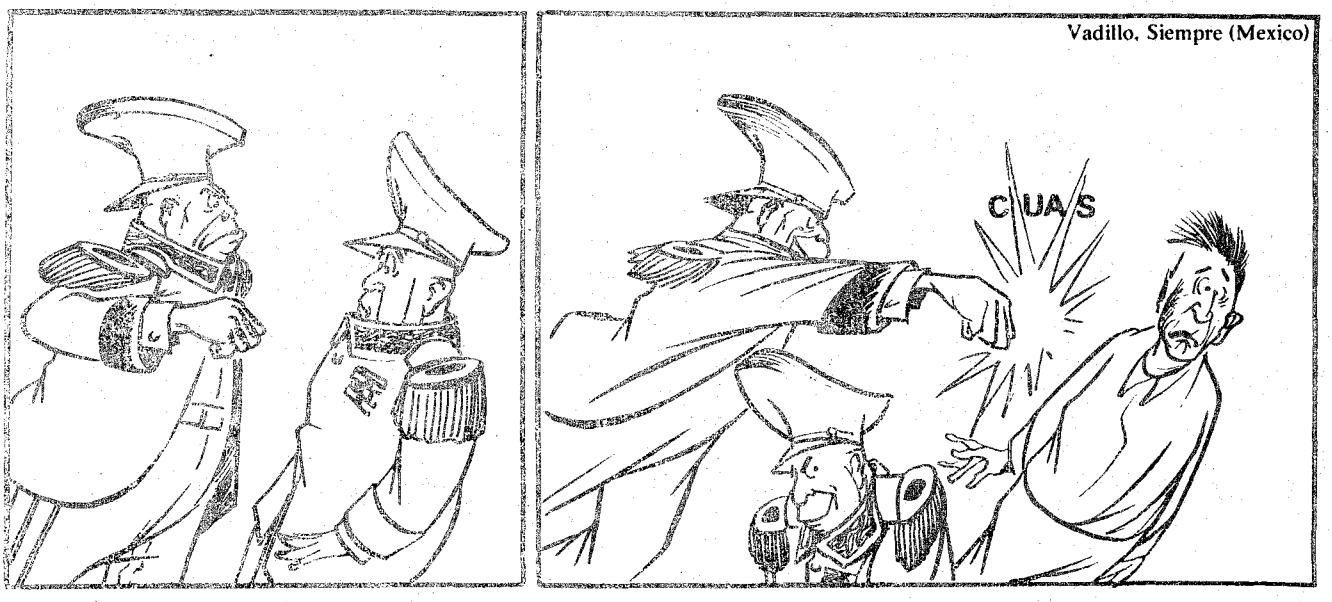

Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

prising that it interpreted recent events as confirming the wisdom of its long-term strategy.

One problem with this strategy is that it depends upon the cooperation of Frei and the Christian Democrats, something that has eluded the Left in the past. The Communists may be convinced that Santiago is "worth a mass," but it is less clear that Frei believes it requires the "historic compromise," especially given the anti-communism of his middle-class supporters. A second problem is that the experience of repression and resistance has transformed the expectations of many Chileans, and persuaded the MIR in particular, that the junta both can and should be overthrown by armed struggle from below and not ousted through political deals from above.

Like the Communists, the MIR begins its analysis with the horror of the junta, but draws from it the lesson that all this suffering should not be in vain, but should lead to a socialist revolution. More important than the speed of the junta's overthrow, therefore, are the manner and circumstances in which it occurs. To the MIR, the junta is not "Fascist" (it lacks the requisite lower middle-class base), but a "gorilla dictatorship," a category more Latin American than classical. The model it finds appropriate for Chile is not World War II in Europe but such Third World liberation movements as Vietnam.

In the MIR's view, the junta has failed and it is only a matter of time before it falls. The Communist strategy would merely restore Chile to a now anachronistic era of "bourgeois democracy" and "reformism," bailing out capitalism and imperialism through a transfer of power to their most intelligent Chilean defenders, whom the MIR holds responsible for the coup and its consequences. As an alternative, the MIR offers a vision of protracted armed struggle, an escalating "people's war" growing out of the local resistance committees and culminating in a successful socialist revolution.

The inevitability of armed struggle has long been the MIR's position and its mass strength is in the resistance committees, so its interpretation of the situation is as self-justifying as that of the Communists. The problem with the MIR's strategy, moreover, is that it requires the cooperation of the Communists in the short run and a leap of faith—a belief that armed struggle can succeed in Chile in the long run, despite its lack of success to date.

The result is a Left as divided today as in mid-1972 and along very similar lines, with the Communists leading those favoring an agreement with the Christian Democrats and the MIR arguing that any such compromise would be fatal to the revolutionary process. In the interim, Frei's complicity in the coup has increased his unacceptability to sectors of the Left, while two years of the junta have lent new urgency and bitterness to the debate.

The Christian Democrats, for their part, are equally divided, and if the sense of *déjà vu* is less, the positions and protagonists are at least familiar. The left wing of the party favors a united front that would include the Communists, but not the far Left and Right, and a peaceful road to "communitarian socialism." The right wing also accepts an opening to the Left—to increase Frei's credibility in Washington as a safe civilian alternative to the junta who can command legitimacy and therefore assure stability—but without the Communists, who are considered ideologically unacceptable and organizationally indigestible. Frei's aim is the consolidation of a stable, neo-capitalist democracy, with a measure of social welfare. Both wings of the party, however, are willing to consider a Center-Left alignment under a social democratic umbrella.

The result was a July meeting in Caracas, in which leaders of the Christian Democratic Left took part as individuals, together with representatives of the Socialists, Radicals, MAPU (Popular Action Unity Movement) and Christian Left. Although the Communists were the Popular Unity Party most eager for such talks, they were the only one not invited. The Caracas conference was financed by the German Social Democrats, whose aim was to explore the possibility of a non-Communist Center-Left alternative to the junta. The meeting produced a document strongly attacking the Chilean military regime and plans for further talks, in which the Communists would be included.

The Communists, however, are taking no chances. After Caracas, they pressed successfully for the formal reconstitution of the Popular Unity coalition. Ostensibly aimed at uniting the Left for the coming negotiations with the

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Christian Democrats, this move also insured that the Communists would not be excluded from these talks or any deal that might be arranged. At the same time, the resurrection of the Popular Unity isolates the MIR and commits the other parties to the Communist strategy.

Caracas has done far less for Christian Democratic unity. Frei and Patricio Aylwin, his party president, were annoyed at being excluded from Caracas, but they were furious that the conference had resulted in an invitation to the Communists. Aylwin's response to Fuentealba's recent call for an anti-junta movement of all the "democratic forces," from the Communists to the Conservatives, was a categorical "no" and a public attack on alliances with "Marxists." As an alternative, he offered the party's support to "democratic officers" within the military, an obvious allusion to Arrellano.

The Christian Democrats seem confident that Pinochet will be ousted within the next few months, with Arrellano replacing him, as a first step on the road to civilian rule. In the long run, however, if Frei is to return to power and restore Chile to stable constitutional government, he must reach an accommodation with the Left. This is what the Communists are counting on and the recent rightist attempt on the life of Bernardo Leighton, the most respected leader of the Christian Democratic Left, may increase the prospects of an "anti-Fascist front." What remains to be seen, however, is whether Frei will walk down the aisle with his Communist suitor—and whether Henry Kissinger will consent to drop the junta for so unholy an alliance.

Central to this recent flurry of intercontinental political activity is the word in Washington that the junta has failed and the United States might be prepared to support a gradual transfer of power to a civilian government, if it were confident that such a change would not open the way to a leftist comeback. There are several indications that the winds of change are beginning to blow through Kissinger's short-sighted Chilean policy. In recent weeks there has been a flurry of articles in major U.S. media attacking the junta and implying that the time had come for changing the guard in Santiago. The new Latin American team in the State Department is conspicuously hostile to the junta and Congressional sentiment is increasingly negative. Pinochet has been warned that he must improve his public image and has responded with a public protest against "the interference of friendly nations."

The motives for a change in U.S. policy are not difficult to discern. American economic interests require a legitimate and stable political setting for long-term investment. Moreover, Kissinger has been badly burned (at home and abroad) by the Chilean question and would probably like to get this albatross off his neck—particularly at a time when the "destabilization" and overthrow of Allende are the subject of Congressional investigation and the junta's combination of inhumanity and incompetence has become a public embarrassment. Kissinger could erase the issue by arranging a Greek exit for the junta, with Frei as Karamanlis and the Chilean Left guaranteeing political stability in the present, in exchange for the promise of future elections. Chile is not Greece and the strategy might have unintended consequences, but it is the scenario most likely to be tried.

It is within this context that Frei's recent public break with the junta must be understood. After almost two years of self-imposed silence, the ex-President has suddenly become politically visible and active—filing a legal brief on behalf of leftist political prisoners feared dead, criticizing junta economic policies and refusing to attend the anniversary celebrations of the coup. These are the first steps in establishing Frei's credibility as the Chilean Karamanlis. The growing coolness in Washington may also explain the recent outspoken attack by Christian Democratic economists on the junta's policies and their pointed warning that the foreign aid and investment that Chile needs—and the junta counts on—for economic recovery will not be forthcoming under the military government.

Although the casting is still unclear, the next act of the Chilean drama is about to begin, with the probable political script calling for a new company of military actors and the gradual entrance of old civilian matinée idols. Kissinger remains the *deus ex machina*, a role he relishes, but his choice of denouements will be dictated by plot, not character. General Prats, Allende's army chief, predicted shortly before his assassination last year: "The junta may celebrate its second anniversary, but it will never see its third." Two years after the Chilean coup, those look like prophetic last words. □

LOVING IT TO DEATH

APPALACHIAN CULTURE BOOM

DAVID A. PEYTON

Glenville, W. Va.

Mack Samples was worried when he looked out over the crowd of 5,000 people who jammed the narrow streets of Glenville, W.Va. last June to celebrate Appalachia. "I don't know what's going to happen next year, or the year after that. When I started attending this thing ten years ago, we were lucky to have 1,000 people. Now the festival has just about outgrown the town. What do we do next year? Attendance by invitation only?"

That was the way it was all over Appalachia last summer as thousands of natives joined thousands of "outsiders" to make once small, intimate folk gatherings almost unmanageable. Appalachia is "in" and has been for five years or more. The arts, crafts, the Appalachian life style

David Peyton, editorial page editor of the Huntington (*W.Va.*) Advertiser, *is at present on leave from the paper. He has received an Alicia Patterson Foundation fellowship, and is making a study of the Cajun and Appalachian cultures in transition.*

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are a lure to those from outside the region. Folk festivals are a momentary escape from mainstream American culture, a chance to sample the simple joys. But in their search for simplicity, the people who attend folk festivals complicate things for Appalachia. Culture is becoming a game, a salable product. The members of the culture have come to know what those in mainstream America want and expect, and they supply the need. In doing so, they destroy the real subculture a piece at a time.

Perhaps it's inevitable; certainly some experts on Appalachia think so. Dr. Norman O. Simpkins, chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Marshall University in Huntington, W. Va., believes the mountain culture as it once was is already dead. What we're seeing today, Dr. Simpkins says, is a romantic revival of the culture, a somewhat slick commercialization of the real thing.

The Mountain State Folk Festival at Glenville is a perfect example of what has happened to such celebrations and the culture they are supposed to celebrate. The Glenville festival accentuates the music of the mountains and, while the old native musicians still have the respect of other participants, a large and powerful group of folk musicians from outside the culture gain a great deal of attention. Perhaps fifty or more musicians at Glenville were from the states along the East Coast. One Saturday afternoon some twenty-five young women were playing traditional mountain fiddle tunes under the trees in the center of town. The oldsters kept their distance because the old ways of the mountain culture declare that a fiddle is not an instrument to be played by women. Those who have never attended such a festival, and particularly those who were there to learn about the mountain heritage, could have been misguided by the scene.

Mack Samples, registrar for Glenville State College and a festival organizer, notes that ten years ago it was difficult to find enough musicians to play for the formal show in the college auditorium. This past summer, there were enough musicians to play three separate shows, with several groups left over.

Samples, a native of Clay County, W. Va., plays fiddle and guitar himself. He has watched the mountain folk culture rise from an obscure remnant of past glories to an honored place among those seeking alternative life styles. As a teaching administrator at the small college, Samples last summer guided a number of "outsiders" through a course in Appalachian culture. Among those attending were educators from Ivy League colleges. Three of the professors applied for positions on the Glenville State faculty following the course. "They want to move here. They want to get away from the megalopolis," Samples says.

Thousands of them are lured to Appalachia annually. Many buy inexpensive hillside farms and vow to build lives based on the Appalachian values and traditions they have found at folk festivals. Many discover that the romantic interpretations of the culture expressed at such festivals don't prepare them for the problems of Appalachia—the poor roads, the poor educational systems and the persistent isolation which was until recently a cultural trait more than a pathological social condition.

The new settlers, when they try to join a culture under siege, tend to weaken it further. But the dilution of the culture by new settlers is minuscule compared to the damage done by those who visit for a weekend of nostalgia. And both of these dilution factors are dwarfed by the role mass communication, particularly television, plays in the transformation of the mountain people.

Jim Comstock, editor of *The West Virginia Hillbilly*, points out the effects of TV. Comstock, a native West Virginian whose biting wit has been aimed at cultural matters for years, says most mountain people now receive

Farm Security Administration

their culture from the box in their living rooms. "Last spring, I hired a lady to clean my offices," Comstock says. "Back in the old days, all one ever needed was a mop, a mop bucket, some water and soap powders. Well, my Lord, she had a list of things she needed that came to $42. And they were all brand names of things she knew from TV. She was speaking a strange language. Now her whole life is shaped, not by her family or the things that she has heard from them but from the tube in her living room. And she listens to commercials more than anything. And her children eat the no-good fun foods. Her cereal must sparkle and crackle. She has forgotten how to feed her family, if she ever knew."

Jesse Stuart, the novelist, poet and short-story writer from Greenup, Ky. in the foothills of the Appalachians, put it another way. "The old mountain people were characters. And they had character. But they're all gone now. Education and mass culture did it."

Of course, there are those who perpetuate the culture by practicing the old arts and crafts. But even these people are tainted by mainstream America. For example,

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most of the old mountain musicians have been asked to play at festivals and gatherings outside Appalachia. And those who have followed the music of the traditionalists say they have noticed changes in their make-up and personalities. Many remember the old ways, the old values, but few practice them. And the change has come about within the last decade. It couldn't be called evolution. The fast-paced world has brought about a revolution in the Appalachian culture.

Thus Dr. Simpkins's theory of the romantic commercialization of the culture seems correct. If that's the case, the spectators at festivals are witnessing not a cultural revival but an Appalachian historical pageant. Even if remnants of the culture still live in the folk festivals, they surely will succumb to the crowds and the hoopla. In the past, such gatherings fortified the participants, gave them confidence in themselves and their culture. Now, it's difficult to feel a oneness with 5,000 people from various cultural backgrounds.

Some claim that even if the latest revival in mountain culture is but a romantic apparition, it still has enough impact to keep many mountain people from becoming mainstream Americans. But how long can they withstand the barrage from mass media, new settlers, curious onlookers and government programs aimed at Americanizing a rebel mountain people? How long can they withstand the spotlight of television and movie cameras that are poked into their faces every time they act "quaint"? The government tries to protect the physical environment from the ravages of mass society; nothing is offered to save the cultural environment.

Every true Appalachian knows that a sense of "home" is important to useful, productive living. But the mountain man and woman have seen their children leave in frustration for the greener pasture of the big city. Until recently, the mountain culture never promoted itself, making the glare from mainstream America even brighter to the young seeking adventure and fortune. Now that the culture attempts to promote itself, it may be too late for it to protect itself. □

COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

A PRESS FOR THE PEOPLE

JOSEPH CONASON

Boston

The underground journals of the 1960s may be dead or co-opted, but the alternative press is flourishing in another form: community newspapers. In poor and working-class communities across America, newspapers which deal with local and national issues from a radical or progressive viewpoint have been springing up sporadically for the last five years, often in unexpected places. There are now enough of them to call the new community press a "movement."

During a recent weekend in Boston, where there are several such community papers in the city and nearby, staff members from several papers, newsletters and other media projects gathered for a New England regional "Community Media Conference." The meeting has been organized annually for the last four years by Community Press Features (CPF), a service offering news stories and graphics on tenant, worker, minority, welfare, feminist, national and international events and issues—all reflecting the concerns of their various subscribers.

The conference participants, in addition to representatives from several neighborhood newspapers in Boston, included people from as far away as New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New Bedford and Springfield, Mass. Most of the papers represented appear monthly, and several different levels of political development and technical competence were clearly present.

Maria Coleman of CPF, who organized the conference, stressed that it was planned to be heavily technical. "At the last conference, I'm told, many people expressed a desire for more material on the mechanics of putting out a newspaper or newsletter. We've left out the final plenary session this time, since last year it was simply monopolized by a few people to put forward their own messages."

About eighty people attended one- to two-hour workshops on investigative reporting, photographic composition, cartoons and drawing, layout, design and community uses of nonprint media. Discussions were led by professionals in each field, who attempted the impossible task of teaching in a few hours skills it had taken them years to learn. (*How to Put Out Newspapers, Newsletters and Leaflets*, a 44-page book on alternative newspaper production by Nancy Brigham, who teaches layout and design at the Boston Community School, will be published by the New England Free Press on a nonprofit basis this month.)

The participating papers had varying origins, but all were founded on the principle that working and poor people's issues don't receive a fair hearing or thorough coverage in the regular media. In New Hampshire, a state dominated by William Loeb's reactionary Manchester *Union Leader* and where the *Granite State Independence* struggles along, this is obviously a problem; but even in Boston where the liberal *Globe* and two liberal weeklies hold sway, community activists see the nonprofit, staff-controlled papers as their only reliable form of communication.

In Boston, there are at present staff-controlled, progressive papers in the Dorchester, Fenway, East Boston, Mission Hill, South End, Chinatown and Jamaica Plain neighborhoods. Some are more than five years old. The East Boston *Community News* is a biweekly delivered free to the 14,000 homes in its area; the others are monthlies

Joseph Conason has been a staff reporter for the East Boston Community News *since 1974.*

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with similar circulations and are distributed through local stores and newsstands, usually free, although supporting subscriptions are urged. Operating in the red and produced by volunteer labor, most of these papers are only nominally supported by advertising. A few months ago, a paper serving Boston's Charlestown area went under for lack of money. The others solicit contributions and private funding.

In spite of such handicaps, the number of new community papers is growing. Bill Porter of Liberation News Service told a workshop at the conference on "internal organization" (funding, decision making and sharing of responsibilities) that "LNS sees more and more such papers all the time, and they're becoming better and better." Maria Coleman, who helps with subscriptions at Community Press Features, confirmed Porter's observation. "Our subscription list has grown rapidly this year; a lot of the new subscribers are community papers," she noted, "and there are probably quite a few we don't know about."

Many potential community newspapers are still in the "newsletter" stage. Several of the papers attending the conference began as newsletters put out by a community agency or tenant organization, only to find community demand for a quality paper so great that much of their energy was directed that way, and a newspaper emerged. Some of the less advanced papers, both technically and politically, are still tied to federal poverty agency or community action purse strings, but the organizers behind them expressed interest in more independence and community control.

Another source of the new community journalism has been peace or civil rights activists, who found greater receptivity among poor and working people when their larger messages were tied to local problems and issues. Two Boston-area papers not represented at the conference began that way. They are located in Lynn and Lowell, industrial cities plagued by runaway factories, fast-buck urban renewal and slum housing.

Peace activists came to both Lynn and Lowell, and rapidly became involved in anti-highway or rent-control campaigns, gaining familiarity with local people and culture. In both cities, they formed coalitions with other groups, and realized that regular publications would help their organizing work. Since their first editions five years ago, the Lynn *Newpaper* and Lowell *Communicator* have grown; they have played significant roles in local electoral and union contests. Recently, they pooled resources to purchase their own production equipment.

The media conference's emphasis on production and design probably did best serve the interests of the participants as a whole. All but a few of the better-established newspapers could profit from professional help, as an examination of material at the literature tables revealed. Although the layout and print quality of several papers were excellent, quite a few of those attending were familiar with no printing process more sophisticated than mimeograph. Even the papers which had more experience found the technical discussion valuable, especially the comments and criticisms exchanged about various layout styles, use of graphics and photos, cleaning up headlines, readability, and so forth.

But at least one serious omission was the lack of workshops or discussion on writing and editing. Even a cursory reading of the papers available turned up a great deal of tired rhetoric, overlong stories, dull leads and headlines and a lot of tangled grammar. In papers of limited space and frequency, which have to work hard to establish and hold readers, mistakes of that kind are serious and unnecessary. A series of sheets published by CPF and distributed at the conference dealt briefly with this problem, but it deserved more than that.

Questions of writing and editing are the more important because a common goal of many of the new community papers is to improve writing skills among interested members of the community, and to demystify written language and the press in general. It is widely felt that such newspapers can be successful with a television-oriented audience only if articles are concise and well-written, avoiding clichés and condescension.

What is printed in the new community press, and what should be? There was little exchange on these topics, and although the urban papers displayed similarities, the differences were worth discussing. How might community needs be better served, or more community people attracted to working on or writing for community papers? Perhaps most crucially, how can these newspapers generate enough money to survive and expand? Because of the diverse types and levels of activity represented at the conference, these matters were barely addressed. Despite these drawbacks, most people attending were glad to make contact with others doing similar work in other places, and to get a look at other formats and ideas. Invaluable advice was dispensed to the needy, for the price of lunch.

And the community press movement in New England showed a vitality that some other parts of the radical movement have lost in the last few years. It exists because some American radicals, by communicating and working with poor and blue-collar people in a serious and continuing medium, have found that a press free of corporate ownership, hack politics and big-time advertisers can serve the revolutionary ideals which are the basis of a really free press. □

LETTERS (*Continued from page 450*)

lence, I infer that the phrase should be: "roughly 60 million American adults reside in households where there is at least one weapon." I apologize to *Nation* readers for having reproduced the information in incorrect form.

Finally, let me mention that a more "scholarly" discussion of the gun-owner data, complete with "adequate controls" and other academic finery, appears in the forthcoming issue of *Social Problems* (October 1975). Readers wishing to see the evidence upon which my conclusions have been based are directed to this source.

James D. Wright

note

Michael Blankfort, former president of the Writers Guild of America, calls our attention to the fact that the film, *Dog Day Afternoon*, reviewed in *The Nation* of Oct.11, was written by Frank Pierson.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Truth and Consequences in Political Journalism

REVOLUTION IN CUBA. *By Herbert L. Matthews. Charles Scribner's Sons. 468 pp. $15.*

ALVAH BESSIE

In *A World in Revolution* (Scribner's, 1971), Herbert Matthews wrote: "I have been the principal journalistic scapegoat for the rise to power of Fidel Castro and for the success of the Cuban Revolution. Owen Lattimore was assigned a similar role in the case of the Chinese Revolution in 1949. . . ." The U.S. Senate Internal Security Committee, while never calling Matthews to testify, during its hearings on Cuba "went on to pin the responsibility for Castro and the Cuban Revolution on me and *The* [*New York*] *Times* . . ." Matthews continued.

Certainly Matthews is one of the most distinguished foreign correspondents any American newspaper has fielded in our century. But the fact that Matthews covered Italy and its war against Ethiopia, the Spanish Civil war, India, England, the Italian campaign in World War II and Cuba is not the major reason for the easily applied (and rarely merited) adjective. What distinguished him over the forty-five years he worked for *The New York Times* (twenty-seven as foreign correspondent, eighteen on its editorial board), was his passion for the facts, his refusal to give credence to handouts, his insistence on covering wars from the front lines, his risking of his life and reputation to get significant news, and his conviction that "to expound things as they really happened is the sole purpose" of journalism.

That conviction cost Matthews dear, for not only were he and his newspaper attacked for his exposition of "things as they really happened," but Matthews was also made to suffer by his employer, who did not seem to enjoy the truth about the Spanish Civil War or the Cuban Revolution.

Conflict over Matthews and with Matthews has made journalistic history. In the cases of Spain and Cuba the *Times* was attacked for what its correspondent was reporting, and in turn put pressure on its correspondent by censoring his copy after reprimanding him for writing "propaganda," or killing it outright. The *Times*'s editors were annoyed because Matthews reported that there were Italian Blackshirts fighting for Franco, when one of their other correspondents, William P. Carney, said there were none. Matthews replied by sending detailed accounts and photographs of the Italian troops routed at the battle of Guadalajara (Brihuega) in March of 1937—their equipment, documents, uniforms, battle orders, diaries and even their conversations with him (in Italian). He ended this dispatch with the words, ". . . they were Italians and nothing but Italians." And since the *Times* always called Franco's men "Insurgents," the assertion came out: ". . . they were Insurgents and nothing but Insurgents."

So far as Cuba was concerned, Matthews was in a unique position. When everybody including the dictator Fulgencio Batista thought and announced that Fidel Castro and his handful of guerrillas had been wiped out in the Sierra Maestra, Matthews coolly up and went there, found Castro, and sent out a sensational interview that scooped the world. Matthews's admiration for Castro, Che Guevara and their associates was of course reflected in his dispatches; but that alone could not account for the fact that the *Times* muzzled him continuously.

Why didn't the *Times* fire him instead of rejecting many articles and refusing to print anything he wrote between 1963 and 1966? It even prevented him from getting the biggest story of them all—the missile crisis of 1962. He still had access to the top Cuban leaders because they knew he told the truth about them even if he did not agree with their ideas or their actions. But as a result of its policy—at once spineless and biased—the *Times* got no news at all out of Cuba between 1963 and 1971.

Matthews himself may have provided the reason for the *Times*'s ambivalence toward its best foreign correspondent in making it clear in *A World in Revolution*, in two books about Cuba and a biography of Castro, and also in this latest book about Cuba, that he was opposed to communism in Cuba (as in Spain), but he was in favor of a radical social revolution in both countries. In other words he was and is that increasingly *rara avis*, a genuine liberal. In fact he is so much a liberal that even though he hurts to this day over the treatment he received from the *Times* for his Spanish and Cuban coverage, he can still "understand" the *Times*'s position and almost sympathize with it.

Matthews's new book is the product of enormous labor, and is a deeply researched, detailed and lived history of Cuba. It spans that history from the time of the Spanish-American War which made Cuba our colony in all but name, down to the headlines about the catastrophic U.S.-sponsored invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 and today's headlines about the CIA's continued attempts to assassinate Castro.

Matthews calls his beautifully structured book "An Essay in Understanding." This will not, of course, protect him from the hatred and contempt of those who simply cannot stand having a Communist country "only 90 miles from Florida." But even the most prejudiced will be unable to counter the evidence Matthews has marshaled that what *los barbudos* have done under the leadership of Castro and Guevara has been for the benefit of the vast majority of the Cuban people. Matthews is as adept at re-creating the personalities and histories of Fidel and Che as he is at explaining the circumstances that made the revolution inevitable, the manner in which it was led, the defeats and triumphs experienced, and the reasons for both. The portrait and analysis of Che, ending with his death in Bolivia, in which the CIA played a notorious part, is a high point in this engrossing story.

The reader is led from the historical background of the revolution, the endless exploitation of the Cuban people by Spain—and the United States which "liberated" them in 1898—to the failure of the *Granma* expedition in 1956 that forced a small band of revolutionaries to withdraw into the Sierra Maestra Mountains. From that stronghold they fought and propagandized their way into Havana in January 1959, winning decisive battles against the Batista army of 10,000 men with as few as 300 guerrilla fighters. Matthews continues:

> "It is true," Castro told Lee Lockwood [author of *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*], "that we had many more ready to join us, but they had no weapons. . . . We captured 500 and some weapons. . . . That allowed us, now with 800 armed men, to spread out through-

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> out the country. . . . At the end of the war, we had 15,000 soldiers of Batista surrounded in Oriente Province alone. We had some 2,500 men there, plus 500 in Las Villas, a total of about 3,000 men."

These are the kinds of fact that most of our newspapers do not like to print, just as they did not like the truth about our criminal intervention in Vietnam. Revolutions are never popular with those who benefit by the *status quo ante*, and Matthews, a reporter who trained himself to get the facts, necessarily became a gadfly and a nuisance to more people than his boss.

While it is possible to be impatient when he seems to misunderstand the difference between socialism and fascism—Castro and his regime are characterized throughout as authoritarian and totalitarian and Western capitalism is always equated with "democracy"—Matthews is brilliant in detailing precisely what the key protagonists of his book did and why they did it. He traces the parallels and points of divergence between guerrilla warfare in Cuba and Vietnam, between Fidel and the late Salvador Allende, between Cuba and Chile. He compares the treatment of Cuba by the American press since 1957 with its treatment of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He exposes the many plans to kill or overthrow Fidel, in which successive American Presidents played a major role.

Castro ended U.S. domination of Cuba, which made him no friends on Wall Street or Pennsylvania Avenue. Contrary to U.S. propaganda, however, he never sold his country to the USSR. The roles played in the Bay of Pigs invasion by both Nixon and the late John F. Kennedy are largely forgotten now, but Matthews resurrects them and reveals how that fiasco was an attempt to repeat the CIA-Pentagon-Eisenhower-Nixon-Dulles operation against Guatemala in 1954, which finally left that nation "as corrupt and with the same mass poverty and tiny wealthy minority as of old—but safe for American strategy and business."

Herbert Matthews always refers to himself as a reporter, a journalist, a foreign correspondent. In this major work he becomes an historian, but one with a difference: he is *not* "objective," for which we may be grateful; nor is he the cynic he described himself as being, earlier in his career: "In those years of 1931 to 1936," he wrote in *The Education of a Correspondent* (1946), "the issues did not touch me personally, and where I later felt willing and anxious to combat the forces which were acting evilly, I was then content to be a mere spectator, to applaud success because it was successful, and to refrain from any moral judgment."

Unlike the woman in the cigarette advertisement, Herbert L. Matthews *has* come a long way, but even in 1946 he knew the way he had come and the direction in which he must go:

> I was sick at heart that night when I wrote my last dispatch on the Spanish Civil War. . . . But the lessons I had learned! . . . Even then, heartsick and discouraged as I was, something sang inside of me. I, like the Spaniards, had fought my war and lost, but I could not be persuaded that I had set too bad an example.
>
> "Open thy arms," cried Sancho Pança, "and receive thy son Don Quixote too, who, though he got the worst on't with another, he ne'ertheless got the better of himself, and that's the best kind of victory one can wish for."

Matthews must be singing inside again. The Cubans won their war, and the Spanish, after thirty-nine years of fascism, are winning theirs today; and he reported both causes ". . . aright to the unsatisfied." □

Priest-Blasphemer of the Stage

THE ACTOR'S FREEDOM: Towards a Theory of Drama. *By Michael Goldman. The Viking Press. 192 pp. $8.95.*

ROBERT LEITER

The Actor's Freedom is a highly eclectic book—although one that could only have been written after Freud and borrows freely from him as well as from anthropology, sociology and other social sciences. There is something of Diderot in it and of Stanislavski as well. But Goldman does not simply borrow; he expands. Rather than waste pages making a simple idea seem simple-minded (as John Lahr and Jonathan Price did in their recent *Life-Show*), Mr. Goldman takes an old-fashioned idea and makes it clearer, so that its implications are radically new.

Goldman is careful to define his terms, and he begins his book with a brief statement of intent. "I see the joint activity of actor and audience as a means by which man attempts to complete his relation to the world, especially to everything in the world that strikes him as dangerous and strange." As in his earlier *Shakespeare and the Energies of Drama*, Goldman is stressing here the importance of live theatre performance; he wants "to develop a way of thinking about drama that is not contaminated by notions derived from literature." He wants to move beyond words like "limitation," "identification" and "characterization"—or, better still, to redefine them and broaden their meanings. And Goldman is very good at finding new meanings for such words. In his book on Shakespeare he built a thesis around the word "energy," and he uses the word in much the same way in his new book. The energy "which defines the actor's art" is a "terrific energy," terrific in the sense of "the word's root suggestion, of the awesome and fearful, of manifestations both exciting and terrible." Goldman is out to prove that "there are important connections between . . . acting . . . and our more general experiences of fear, apprehension, or terror."

Of course, that is similar to what Diderot told us in *The Paradox of the Actor*, and Goldman pays his debt to the master. "Simply by his willingness to take on a gait, voice, and costume that are not 'his own,' the actor has appeared to pose a threat to the order of things, a challenge to the decent limits of being." Goldman then makes the obvious leap to Freud: "Part of . . . [the actor's] strangeness corresponds exactly to the kind Freud describes in his essay on the uncanny—it arouses a fearful sense that aggressions we ordinarily suppress are walking in the world." The actor makes use of the quality of "otherness" that we associate with ghosts and that we find both frightening and fascinating. His method of imitation, which moves beyond simple mimesis, is a way of "handling what we think of as fear's sources, those spirits, aggressions, ghosts . . . that haunt our world from infancy."

Goldman then shows how the "double impulse" we feel toward the actors is "central to all drama." He gives the examples of Dionysus and Pentheus, suggesting that the opposing forces they represent inform every dramatic role—"the ecstasy of power over others and the ecstasy of self-surrender." Goldman points to Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* in this connection. He could easily have chosen *Hamlet*, and eventually he does, for he sees "moral puzzles" as always buzzing around the heads of dramatic heroes, ready to tear them apart. And so aggression becomes a natural tenant of drama, "a psychic

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One of a series on the first hundred years of the telephone.

The best phone system in the world didn't just happen. It was planned a long time ago.

This ad ran in 1908.

One Policy One System

Universal Service

THAT the American public requires a telephone service that is universal is becoming plainer every day.

Now, while people are learning that the Bell service has a broad national scope and the flexibility to meet the ever varying needs of telephone users, they know little of how these results have been brought about. The key-note is found in the motto—"One policy, one system, universal service."

Behind this motto may be found the American Telephone and Telegraph Company—the so-called "parent" Bell Company.

• • • •

A unified policy is obtained because the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has for one of its functions that of a holding company, which federates the associated companies and makes available for all what is accomplished by each.

As an important stockholder in the associated Bell companies, it assists them in financing their extensions, and it helps insure a sound and uniform financial policy.

• • • •

A unified system is obtained because the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has for one of its functions the ownership and maintenance of the telephones used by the 4,000,000 subscribers of the associated companies.

In the development of the art, it originates, tests, improves and protects new appliances and secures economies in the purchase of supplies.

It provides a clearing-house of standardization and thus insures economy in the construction of equipment, lines and conduits, as well as in operating methods and legal work—in fact, in all the functions of the associated companies which are held in common.

• • • •

Universal, comprehensive service is obtained because the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has among its other functions the construction and operation of long distance lines, which connect the systems of the associated companies into a unified and harmonious whole.

It establishes a single, instead of a divided, responsibility in inter-state connections, and a uniform system of operating and accounting; and secures a degree of efficiency in both local and long distance service that no association of independent neighboring companies could obtain.

• • • •

Hence it can be seen that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is the active agency for securing *one policy*, *one system*, and *universal service*—the three factors which have made the telephone service of the United States superior to that of any other country.

American Telephone & Telegraph Company

Bell System

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and physical energy working outward from somewhere inside the individual . . . looking . . . for other life that will make its own life known. . . ." Theatre, then, springs from "the game we play with fear and loss," and the actor is very much like the mask—both escaping from the self and searching for self-discovery.

At this point, Goldman proposes a formula: "The leading role or roles of any play act out some version of a half-allowed, blasphemous, and sacred freedom characteristic of the era in which the play was written." Dramatic roles, as well, reflect a culture's "attitude to actors and acting."

Goldman begins with Greece "where the actor was regarded as a quasi-religious dignitary . . ." and goes on to comment on the drama's major phases: in the Elizabethan age, when the hero, like the actor, "lived (and died) by the freedom to make a place for himself, a freedom that excited and appalled his age"; in France, where "the half-forbidden freedom of the heroes of French classical tragedy is the freedom to analyze one's passions"; and on to Ibsen where the hero is "opening out an inner space amid the press of determinisms." Goldman has some lovely pages on Chekhov and his use of the ensemble

Poems by Marvin Bell

A FEW LITTLE POEMS ABOUT THE PLAINS

1
A tree is more important
if you only have one.

2
The wind replies
without answering.

3
Here is a hill, slant-lit in sun,
and here a fussy pine in the wind,
and here we live to look longer,
to retreat into composure,
to return to unreaching. Here,
where deadwood is not driftwood.

4
The bird startles; you were not to blame.
Light, fine. Star, fine. Fire, fine. Spring, fine.
It's showing up, the bent bough's rising,
and you can use it: it was a hard winter.

5
What's past is a breeze, cool value
to one, like myself, raised near water,
marking time in drydock.

Coldest is not worst. Iowa blue sky's
central to your nervousness, you
Coastal people of whom I was one.

6
Talking to the dirt:
"You do so much *with death."*

7
We look at the land
and in time
the land looks back.

"GRADUALLY, IT OCCURS TO US . . ."

Gradually, it occurs to us
that none of it was necessary—
not the heavy proclaiming
the sweat and length of our love
when, together, we thought it the end;
nor the care we gave your dress,
smoothing it as we would the sky;
nor the inevitable envelope of This-
is-the-time-we-always-knew-would-come,
and-goodbye. All that was ever needed
was all that we had to offer,
and we have had it all. I have your absence.
And have left myself inside you.
Now when you come back to me,
or I to you, don't give it a thought.
This time, when first we fall into bed,
we won't know who we are, or where,
or what is going to happen to us.
Time is memory. We have the time.

TWO MEN IN WOOL CAPS CATCHING BEAVER

Home is a white sheet of a tent
strung to elms, and a stovepipe
come through up to an elbow.
From a peg where the door folds
a revolver hangs by its trigger guard.
Six skins are spaced along a line
while two fresh kills hang on a tree.

Sometimes, you think you know what people
think of you, and it's not much.
Then you have your picture taken.
Someone takes your photo in the sunlight
locking their elbows so that the trees
behind you come out sharp and even
the pleats at the corners of your eyes.

No one can say now you didn't laugh.
You were warm nights and kept by
a lantern. You knew how to preserve
whatever you wanted to save, lived on,
and protected your head. Now people
wear hats for looks, but yours had the
only style that matters: concern elsewhere.

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as theme and theatrical reality. He also presents some original and startling ideas about Elizabethan revenge tragedy, ideas that may change our way of looking at Tudor-Stuart drama. Finally, drawing on Brook and Grotowski, Goldman calls our present age an epistemological one and shows how we have produced an actor whose art is to explore the nature of acting itself.

But the book's final section, "Theater and World"—though it is convincing and brings the argument to a rounded conclusion—lacks something. Here Goldman allows his thesis to boil down to a single, basically Freudian premise: "All the unique qualities of awareness that theater makes available to us are finally best understood as contributing to a very special awareness of identity, a unique mode of experiencing both our own identity and that of others." Now the discovery of identity is, as Goldman says, a basic subject of world theatre. And it is true that Goldman has many interesting ideas on the matter; his discussion of Brecht in this context and the few pages on the Peter Brook production of *Marat/Sade* are strong and valuable in the suggestions they make about the problems and possibilities of performance. Moreover, Goldman's thesis is not simply a device; he does not twist and turn it to fit the argument. And he's right, too, when he says that "The effort to possess one's past is perhaps a natural American theme, and it takes the form, in the greatest American plays, of an attempt to possess one's family—to move among the memories or among the actual events of a childhood, trying to sort out the disguises and deceptions, to define one's parents or oneself." He's right enough, but it seems a tame conclusion for a book that has brought us in touch with some lost truths and exposed us to some terrific (in Goldman's special sense) new ones. □

Not Yet, at Any Rate

DOES SOCIALISM LIBERATE WOMEN? *By Hilda Scott. Beacon Press. 240 pp. $7.95.*

ELEANOR M. WHEELER

People are likely to respond to the title of this book with comments ranging from "Of course" (on the part of confirmed, dogmatic Socialists) to "I wonder. Does it?" (on the part of the friendly but skeptical). Hilda Scott's account is more complicated than either of those answers. She pays tribute to socialist health services, free and equal education, day-care centers, the right to jobs, equal property rights, generous maternity leave, easy divorce and abortion—but she calls for a developed theory of women's role, even under socialism.

Scott shows the fallacy of the old socialist theory that when private property disappears the main base for unequal treatment of the sexes will automatically disappear. She claims that equal rights must be worked for in accordance with a sound theory and a reevaluation of sexual roles: ". . . More theoretical work is necessary to arrive at a complex solution capable of developing as society develops. For this purpose it is important to know as much as possible about how existing answers work and where they have disappointed their advocates."

Based as it is on many years' personal experience in one socialist society, that of Czechoslovakia, the book is fascinating reading. It combines the personal touch—the complaints of neighbor women about their aching backs and wayward children—with an overall view and theory. It is not a diatribe directed against socialist or capitalist groups, although it criticizes both. However, it does reflect an impatience with "the kind of social optimism in which the goal was confused with reality." That optimism led in one instance to the dissolution of Czechoslovak women's mass organizations on the assumption that their protective role was unnecessary in a socialist society.

Preliminary to her discussion of the history of women's rights in the European socialist movement, Scott reviews Bohemian history, and follows that review with thumbnail sketches of Emperor Charles IV, a Holy Roman Emperor who embellished his country with Gothic structures and founded Charles University which rivaled the University of Paris; of John Huss who came soon after the English Reformer John Wycliffe and preceded Martin Luther by a century; of the Hussite General Zizka who led peasant soldiers; of the great pedagogue John Amos Comenius who had to flee Bohemia when the 1620 Battle of White Mountain resulted in a Catholic victory; and of the "father of his country," T.G. Masaryk. "People who choose such men to erect statues to . . . and whose only famous general, one-eyed Jan Zizka, fought in the Hussite wars some five hundred years ago, have obviously spent a good deal of their history thinking about social justice and do not have much in the way of aggrandizement to boast about."

For all her concentration on the history of a single country, Scott does not belabor national differences. On the contrary, she offers general conclusions about socialist practice, saying, "Although socialist countries differ, seven of them—Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union—have in common the fact that they are attempting to apply the same interpretation of Marxist theory." The first naive notion held by the builders of these seven socialist states was that the liberation of women would come automatically as private property and financial exploitation disappeared. Another idea was that the provision of services to liberate the housekeeper would be simple. Scott points out that "even in a

Eleanor Wheeler, a student of socialism and of women's rights, lived for many years in Prague.

Lillian Hellman
Coretta Scott King
Ring Lardner, Jr.
Carey McWilliams

Arthur Miller
William Shirer
I. F. Stone
Barbara Tuchman

Invite you to join us at

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JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO
1891-1975

The Community Church of New York,
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socialist country, everything that is subsidized by society has to be paid for by the production of new values, and the more things that are given away or sold below cost, the more efficient the production required in other spheres. . . . What is more, although Czechoslovak authorities, for example, talked grandiosely of making housework a public industry, they did not appreciate that just to provide the minimum supplementary conveniences for the housewife would require a tremendous shift toward the 'nonproductive' sphere instead of away from it."

Some of the difficulties encountered in providing services were due to the lack of competition, though Scott does not stress this particularly. (For a fuller treatment of market and competition under socialism, see G.S. Wheeler, *The Human Face of Socialism*, reviewed by Max Gordon, *The Nation*, February 23, 1974.) She does say, however, that "In Czechoslovakia the services have never recovered from the situation created in the 1950s by the nationalization of all the small craftsmen—the one- and two-man and family establishments of shoemakers, plumbers, electricians, mechanics, tailors and others who had been supplying the consumer with hundreds of small repairs which no socialist enterprise was ready to provide."

In addition to the economic difficulties of providing full household services and child care, pedagogical and psychological objections to the "institutionalizing" of children began to arise. Scott describes the work of the psychologists Josef Langmeier and Zdenek Matejcek, citing Langmeier's address in 1960 to the second national congress of psychiatry in Prague on the subject of sensory and emotional deprivation among institutionalized children. It stirred up the psychologists and pedagogues, for it ran counter to the official tenet that collective living automatically benefits the child. These specialists decried the harm done by grouping children in institutions by age. Matejcek himself was active in an association which built artificial families grouped in villages—the so-called SOS Villages. Scott does not discuss this, for it has only a tangential connection with her formal topic.

After describing the problems she observed during her stay in Czechoslovakia, Scott says, "Sweeping generalizations about how socialism will take the responsibility for care of the child off the family's hands rarely take details into account. . . . In 1969 Czechoslovak government payments for the benefit of mothers and children in cash (family grants, paid maternity leave, student grants); in the form of subsidies for children's clothing, and student fares on the public transportation system; and in the form of services like nurseries, nursery schools, school lunches, and free school books and supplies, amounted to 19,000 million crowns (22,000 million in 1973), and the cost of the national health service and the pension system. . . . These payments represent nearly 25 percent of all outlays from the central budget . . . for social and cultural purposes, and more than 10 percent of all government expenditures, including investment in the national economy."

Hilda Scott leaves the reader with a sense of urgency about the problems she has brought up, whether in the context of a welfare state, of a socialist state or of a small cooperative segment within a capitalist state. She concludes, "Support must be obtained for experiments in family arrangements and thought given to the social policies that might influence various kinds of personal relationships; for all experience to date everywhere tends to support the belief that the much-abused family—in the sense of a more or less stable relationship between members of the opposite sex, formalized by law or custom, and involving the upbringing of children—will neither be 'abolished' nor continue to exist in exactly the form in which any of us are experiencing it now. . . . Whatever form of the family—or absence of it—exists in a given place at a given time will also change in part in response to the effort to use it to emancipate women." □

All Poetry Is Equal, But . . .

THE WESTERN APPROACHES. *By Howard Nemerov. The University of Chicago Press. 110 pp. $7.95.*

PETER MEINKE

In these democratic days all poetry has equal rights, which is as it should be: it's a big house. Children's poetry, concrete poetry, cut-up poetry, therapeutic poetry, found poetry, sex poetry. Poetry that's loose, tight, subconscious, surreal —room for everybody. But there are not many poets fulfilling poetry's traditional role, to teach and delight, to inspire us to examine our actions and our language, to change our lives by changing our perceptions of ourselves. Writing that kind of poetry takes brains as well as a heart, breadth as well as depth, wide knowledge and a craftsman's skill, and a great stubbornness to dig in and not blow with the wind.

Howard Nemerov is stubbornness itself. *The Western Approaches*, his ninth book of poems, has as its dominant mode the blank verse line he has used since *The Salt Garden* twenty years ago. This is the end of "The Sanctuary," from the earlier book:

As if a man's own eyes
Raised welts upon the mirror whence they stared,
I find this world again in focus, and
This fish, a shadow dammed in artifice,
Swims to the furthest shadows out of sight
Though not, in time's ruining stream, out of mind.

And the conclusion of his new title poem:

When I was young I flew past Skerryvore
Where the Nine Maidens still grind Hamlet's meal,
The salt and granite grain of bitter earth,
But knew it not for twenty years and more.
My chances past their changes now, I know
How a long life grows ghostly towards the close
As any man dissolves in Everyman
Of whom the story, as it always did, begins
In a far country, once upon a time,
There lived a certain man and he had three sons. . . .

The voice is much the same, thoughtful and deliberate, natural but formal; a thinking voice. Nemerov is the Wittgenstein of poets; his poems, like Wittgenstein's lectures, are excursions in depth, peeling back the onion layers of thought, logic, belief, myth, faith.

The Western Approaches is composed of seventy-one poems and divided into three parts: The Way, The Ground, The Mind. The Way consists of poems about our modern condition and appurtenances: TV, cars, football, moonshots, war. The Ground is concerned with nature. The Mind is about all of these things filtered through the reflective medium of art or thought. Nemerov's central subject remains the "stillness in

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moving things," or "thought and the defeat of thought." The pessimism is deeper, the tone somewhat wearier; he contemplates the laws of science and religion and finds that they both doom us:

In one, the First Law says: Nothing is Lost.
The other First Law adds: But we are lost.

One Second Law fulfills what spake the prophets;
The other tersely states: There are no profits.

Baffled between the Old Law and the New,
What boots it to be told both sets are true,

Or that disorder in the universe
Is perfectly legal, and always getting worse?

Simplifying wildly, in discussing a poet so prolific and diverse, I would say that Nemerov has always found our bad world blessed by beauty, in language, thought, art, nature and human nature. The stoicism of trees, the marvelous cries of gulls, the bravery of the mud turtle, the dazzling blue swallows, the iridescence of oil slicks on water, moments of truth between companions, the skill of writers and artists—these things, symbols, make our world endurable, and Nemerov's poems have a way of picking us up at the end. Life is hopeless but beautiful.

In *The Western Approaches* there is more hopelessness than beauty:

Einstein. He said that if it were to do
Again, he'd sooner be a plumber. He
Died too. We live on sayings said in myths,
And die of them as well, or ill. That's that.

Of making many books there is no end,
And like it saith in the book before that one,
What God wants, don't you forget it, Jack,
Is your contrite spirit, Jack, your broken heart.

Of course he may be right. I prefer the poems that lift us, and I am thankful that there are a good number of them. Here are lines from "Playing the Inventions," a poem in which Nemerov is at his best:

Ach, dear Bach, so beautiful a day!
A small breeze shakes the shadows of the leaves
Over the instrument, across your page,
Sprinklings of drops at the outer edge of spray
In patterns overpatterning your own.
And one sits here, "lover of the clavier
And desirous to learn," your backward dilettante,
Amateur, stumbling slowly through your thoughts
Where five and twenty decades of the world's
Sorrow and wrath are for a while as though
Dissolved in the clear streams of your songs
Whose currents twine, diverge, and twine again,
Seeming to think themselves about themselves
Like fountains flowering in their fall.
Dear Bach,
It's a great privilege. It always is. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

At its first performance in 1898, *Trelawny of the "Wells"* elicited from Bernard Shaw the only favorable review he ever wrote of a Pinero play. "Its charm," Shaw said, "lies in a certain delicacy which makes me loth to lay my critical fingers on it." That the charm still manifests itself in the production now at the Vivian Beaumont Theatre of Lincoln Center is something of a miracle, since almost everything has been done to squelch it. What now weighs so heavily on the play is not the transference of its locale from England to America but a lack of understanding of what constitutes its charm.

The salient word in the Shavian quote is "delicacy." Pinero called his play a "comedietta" to emphasize its lightness. He was not only writing a tribute to his past—for ten years he was an actor in an Edinburgh stock company similar to the one celebrated in his play—but also to convey the tenderness which obtains in a calling pursued under always trying conditions from its individual members' deep attachment to it. In every element of *Trelawny*—even in the depiction of its most stodgy characters—there are feelings of decency, affection and purity. The actors of the "Wells" company quarrel, are sometimes jealous of one another, but are bound together by the peril as much as the glamour of their profession. For the stiffly proper and prosperous Victorians met in the play, actors are "gypsies"; just the same, the eldest and stuffiest of the gentry melts and becomes nearly maudlin at the mere mention of Edmund Kean's name.

The director of the Lincoln Center production, A.J. Antoon, has made his gypsies vulgarly crude and his Victorians insufferably stupid. Not trusting Pinero, he converts everything to banal farce, as if the young and the old in the play were not so much childlike as vacant of mind and shabby in manners.

It might be argued that, since Pinero's actors have been conferred American citizenship, it was advantageous to endow them with greater energy and vociferousness than the originals could display in the 1860s, when the English stage was divesting itself of romantic and melodramatic trappings to take its first steps toward realism. But English and American actors were very much alike at the turn of the century, the period chosen for the present production. While actors at all times have *among themselves* been free and easy—not infrequently given to drink, carousal and illicit affairs—they have very rarely been loutish in polite surroundings, as they are shown to be at the Vivian Beaumont. In exposure to the world, apart from the theatre, they tend to adopt or imitate the social behavior of the "best people" in their communities. And we cannot believe the upper-class youth—who has gone on the stage—when he says he loves his inveterately old-fashioned and disapproving grandfather because the actor who plays the aged gent has been permitted to blunder, bellow and boom practically all through the performance. Both in respect to the theatrical figures and to the Victorians, there is very little of the delicacy and charm essential to the play, no matter in what time or place it is situated.

David Mitchell has designed the production very nicely—particularly in its second act. As Rose Trelawny, Marybeth Hurt, who was at her best in last season's *Love for Love*, is more in tune with the script

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than are any of the others, though she appears vocally deficient and a little too mild in projection to be entirely convincing as the leading lady of the "Wells."

A torrent of familiar obscenities pours forth from the mouths of all the characters of *Lamppost Reunion* (The Little Theatre). The images that arise out of the insults as well as from recollection of prior events are even more scabrous than the noisome vocabulary. I nevertheless regard this essay in realism as basically sentimental.

It is a play about "a kid from Hoboken." Now a famous and wealthy Pop singer, the kid returns one night to a bar, his former hangout. He is impelled to venture on this peculiar pilgrimage because he senses the waning of his powers and semi-consciously wishes to reflect on the course of his career through contact with the area of his early experiences. He has some misgivings about this because his closest companion in the old days, the owner of the grubby Lamppost Bar, fiercely resents the fact that the singer has avoided him and his other cronies since becoming a success. Most of the play centers on this bitterness. One old friend suffers the hurt of neglect, another is angered by the suspicion that the saloon keeper's savage attack is activated by a desire to exploit the singer through an unspoken claim for perpetual monetary and moral support. The singer denies that he owes anything to anybody.

During the night-long encounter, the history of each of the five assembled men is revealed. Among them, there is a hangdog Irishman once accused of having raped a 12-year-old girl, for which he served a term in jail. But the fellow passionately asserts there was no rape at all, because the girl really loved him, as he did her. There is also the singer's henchman, a Jew reared in an Italian neighborhood who is vocationally called upon to praise and defend his boss. He finally speaks of the humiliating treatment to which the big shot has subjected him. The singer, reputedly modeled on Sinatra, speaks of the despair of his own boyhood—he discovered his mother in flagrant infidelity to his father, a fact he has never before divulged—and of his subsequent ambition to escape the sordidness of his environment. Faced with the various accusations aimed at him, he, too, softens and becomes more humane.

What emerges from all the ugly exchanges, many of which strike the audience as very funny, is that the people involved are all pitiful; at bottom, they all love one another, for they have survived a common hell which in a way was the best time of their lives.

The author of the play, Louis LaRusso II, knows his stuff: the Hoboken milieu and the various "ethnic" groups resident there. (So does the director, Tom Signorelli, whose staging is quite able.) The play, then, is true to facts: the scatology of language, the hostility, some of the professed warmth of proximity and the shared memories are undoubtedly authentic. Yet I call the play sentimental.

Sentimentality is not inevitably a fault. There are different kinds. *Of Mice and Men* and *The Time of Your Life*, for instance, are sentimental plays. But the sentiment they arouse is immanent in their substance. We recognize a basic emotional truth in them, a sort of "music" implying transcendence rather than the statistics of factual notation. The sentiment which is supposed to underlie the scabs and scars of *Lamppost Reunion* is appliqué: something we are called upon to assume because the writer assures us that it is there, a kind of special pleading akin to saying, "The murderer ought to be spared because of devotion to his mama and papa." We resist or are indifferent to the play's claim on our sensibility. The stench of its environment comes across as a disagreeable joke; its pity and sorrow cannot be credited.

The show's main assets are the acting and the setting, although Robert U. Taylor's handsomely designed bar struck me as much more pleasant than the decayed joint of which the text speaks. The acting—especially that of Danny Aiello as the wounded and venomous bartender, Frank Quinn as the shattered Irishman (his speech needs correction and greater volume) and Gabriel Dell's rather dry yet strongly defined and well-articulated characterization of the lead—imparts an immediate conviction.

A number of criticisms may readily be aimed at Scott Joplin's opera *Treemonisha*, which has opened in the too-spacious and acoustically faulty Uris Theatre, but I have no heart to recite them. In fact, I lent myself to it with cordiality. To justify this attitude I might note the excellent voices of Curtis Rayam, Willard White, Edward Pierson, Betty Allen and Carmen Balthrop, the happy zip of some of the dancing, especially in the evening's finale, and in a number in which three darling alligators "star." Then, too, on the plus side is Joplin's pioneer (1907) effort to give a musical lift to the black people's early realization of education as a key to their liberation. In this instance, the educator is a woman and a foundling, at a time (1867) when both circumstances might be thought to count against her. But even these factors—not to mention the opera's never having been performed in the author-composer's lifetime—are not what induced my sympathy for the show. I was taken by the artless candor of its feeling, its simple folk urge. There must still be room for a little innocence among us.

A Chorus Line (first reviewed in *The Nation* of June 14) has moved uptown to the Shubert Theatre. By extraordinary talent and very hard work (nine months of preparation) Michael Bennett and his collaborators have created a virtually perfect production. The entire cast, with its thoroughly American bounce and skill, is wonderful. But what is most important is the spirit which speaks through it all: happy are those, it says, who commit themselves wholeheartedly to a task they love.

The Robber Bridegroom, with book and lyrics by Alfred Uhry, based on a novella by Eudora Welty, opened The Acting Company repertory season on October 6 and closed as prearranged on October 16. It was the first offering this year by a troupe that has been touring the country and will continue to do so. The company originated in the Juilliard School of the Theatre under the leadership of John Houseman. There are three more plays on its present program: Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* from October 20 to 25, *The Time of Your Life* from October 27 to November 1 and *The Three Sisters* from November 3 to 8. All these performances take place at the Harkness Theatre (1887 Broadway). I will defer comment on them until I have seen more than one of them. But it is only just to say that the plays chosen recommend themselves. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Jackie Ferrara's sculptures are variations on the pyramid. They have a modular neatness of part and a primal simplicity of whole form. In her new work (Max Protetch Gallery) the basic contours are subtly varied, but the pyramid's stepped form is sustained. To ascend a laminated pile from the broadest to the narrowest zone is a natural way to go. Ferrara concentrates our attention on the objects as structure, making no allusion to the picturesque state of pyramids in deserts and jungles. However, the familiarity of the architectural principle persists in all her sculpture, both floor pieces and table pieces, in a way that compromises their scale. Her sculptures tend to look like models, preparations for something rather than firm conclusions.

The dismissal of a sense of scale was essential to the so-called Minimal sculpture of the 1960s (the modular floor plates of Carl Andre, for example), because the concept of continuous order was of paramount importance. Ferrara aims for a more physical image, however; she extends her systematic form sequences into strongly three-dimensional configurations, but they don't quite lock into the space because of the architectural analogy. Like models, her

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works are scaleless: they seem like examples rather than the things themselves. In her preceding show (at A.M. Sachs) shaggy textural strata bestowed physicality, but the later pieces are made of shiny, new materials. She is starting to use more varied angles and cuts within her layered forms, so that the pyramids are open-ended or doubled, incorporating positive and negative patterns. These complex particularities have the effect of converting schematic form into solid presence. The increasing quirkiness of the structures is just what is needed to make them convincing at their own scale, as strong as objects as they are strict in method. Altogether an interesting show by an artist making her own terms between modular regularity and monolithic bulk.

The sculpture of Donna Byars (55 Mercer Street) is based on found materials which are prized for the luxurious dilapidation of rust, patina, crackalure and blanching. The taste for used objects in art is associated with the kind of composite sculpture that became known as "assemblage" following an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1961. Assemblage is an art of accretion, of scattered bits being brought together into containment or anchorage; epoxy was to assemblage what oil paint was to Antonello da Messina. More recently, sculpture has assumed permissive configurations, in which the parts are not necessarily fixed and rigid, but hang loose or lean against each other, either loose-jointed or soft. Byars's sculpture combines the two ways of working; on one hand, the aesthetic recycling of waste and, on the other, looser forms of construction than assemblage permitted. Assemblage originally retained traditional standards of rigidity and fixity to which the sculptors using soft or loose materials are not bound.

Assemblage had a fetishistic aspect which developed into the shamanistic side of later soft sculpture, with its ethnoquotes—feathers, shells and masks. There are traces of primitivism in Byars's work, but she seems largely to remain an archaeologist of our own culture, studying its waste, rather than an anthropologist of others, miming their rituals. As she moves into looser structure she retains the basic naturalism of assemblage which rests on the fact that the found objects are of urban origin. Hers is a show that reminds us that in the later 20th century art is not restricted to pure style choices, but that stylistic fusions and amalgams flourish when the right artist is doing it, as here.

All but a few of Margaret Grace's paintings (The Bowery Gallery, until November 13) are of rooftop scenes. She does not look down from a high eye level, like the Impressionists, above the boulevards. Her attention is directed horizontally, across other roofs, to water towers, cornices, chimneys, apartment buildings. It was probably John Sloan and Edward Hopper who discovered the roof as a pictorial motif in this sense. Its great advantage is that it makes possible the representation of objects in open space but spares the artist and ourselves insistent orthogonals, those lines that converge on vanishing points in landscapes and city paintings. Compared to her pictures of bridges on the Harlem River, where the ground plane is traditionally recorded, Grace's roof paintings have a great verve. Forms are clipped and vivid; they cut or abut one another. (Only in one painting on the ground, a view of an elevated subway station, does she preserve this non-hierarchic sectioning of geometric forms, and here she achieves it by lowering the ground plane almost out of sight.)

The tops of houses are painted as blocks, fragments, segments, slices, all disposed in rational space, but a space that is generated by the buildings themselves, as colored objects, not as elements in an abstract geometric plane. Thus Grace gives a singular definition to each of the buildings she surveys, showing their clustering in a flexible, believable space. She simplifies her forms acutely, but retains the specificity of New York buildings. She uses large brush strokes on fairly small canvases which give her paintings an air of amplitude. The skies, usually a solid blue, are bright; the buildings are ochre, brown, gray, pink, khaki, with enough earth color to preserve an urban complexion but sufficiently strong as hues to keep a clear presence as color. There is a successful balance, that is to say, between a full range of tonality (dark to light) and rich, definite color.

The term she uses to describe her work, cityscape, is a genre with a brief but interesting history. It began only in 17th-century Holland with painters like Jan van der Heyden and Gerrit Berckheyde, was continued by 18th-century Venetians, such as Canaletto and Belloto, and flourished in the 19th century as topographical views. Grace, by her subtle exploration of the roof scape, has added personally to the resources of the genre.

City Walls, Inc., a group of artists responsible for a scatter of murals round the city, has sponsored a new one, at the intersection of Mercer and 8th Streets. Some odd claims are being made for it, not by City Walls but by an organization called the International Women's Art Festival. The wall is described as "the first in the city to be done in soft pastel colors. It is the second wall to be done by a woman and the only one by a woman in 1975, International Women's Year." There is another first, if one thinks in those terms: it is the first of the City Wall murals to reveal no sense of architectural scale in relation to the site. The color patches drift across the wall, idly encompassing some windows, with no formal reason for either size or placement. It simply looks as if a slide of one of the artist's ordinary easel paintings had been projected, arbitrarily enlarged, onto the bricks.

The mural signals no infiltration of a male chauvinist clan: the unnamed earlier artist is Tania. What we are faced with is an attempt at exploitation by which the artist, Dorothy Gillespie, awards her own mural competitive firsts in the hope of attaching it to larger issues than are suggested by her art. The trouble with this kind of promotion is not its self-defeating hollowness but its capacity to devalue the real thing, by which I mean the work of

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artists like Ferrara, Grace and Byars who are not exploiting feminism but advancing it by the fact of serious and substantial work. □

TELEVISION

PETER SOURIAN

For years we have heard that something is wrong with teaching and learning in America, and for years we have been given the reasons. Authoritarianism has been blamed and so has dingbat softness. Prejudicial test scores have been blamed, along with a lack of standards. Parents and teachers, textbooks and television, Vietnam and soda pop, have all been blamed. The entire nation has been charged with complicity—in some metaphysical sense—by reactionaries, radicals, moderates and liberals.

The typically American institution supposedly designed to deal with the problem is the school of education, where public school teachers in most states are required to take a number of education courses. Now comes one on TV, for all to see.

On September 22, New York's Channel 13 began broadcasting the twelve weekly segments of a graduate level course called *Humanizing Reading Instruction*. Successful completion of the course (called a telecourse) confers two credits (telecredits) approved by the New York State Department of Education. Beginning February 9, Channel 13 will offer a second-semester course, *Human Relations and School Discipline*.

Both series were produced by Dave Bell Associates, a California firm that has already offered telecourses in eighteen states. One of their graduate level courses has had 15,000 enrollees to date. In the present case, Ithaca College determined the course requirements for *Humanizing Reading Instruction* (including group discussions with learning-team partners, and three papers to be evaluated through the mail by Ithaca faculty, at an estimated average seven minutes per paper) and the college administers enrollment for a relatively inexpensive $59. According to the prospectus: "No visits to the Ithaca Campus are necessary, since the collect call number (607-274-3145) is available to all enrollees for consultation and discussion with professors."

The principles which emerge from the course are in general those that I support, yet I have an uneasy feeling about it all. Just because it's an education course? Possibly. It comes on as an anti-education course in education, but perhaps education courses have been coming on that way ever since time or Dewey began.

A lot of what disturbs me about it may be a matter of tone and diction. Take the title. My favorite suffix is not *izing*, especially in connection with the word *human*. There's also the fact that the producers call their shows learning-delivery systems, followed by a statement from the executive producer: "Humanism is really what it's all about. Whatever it takes to get kids to enjoy the learning experience—to improve human relations and make it enjoyable for both teachers and students—that's important." It may all be exceedingly educational, but it rings in my ear like a one-minute spot commercial. And besides, being a puritan I don't enjoy hearing about all that enjoyment.

Weekly topics include *Reading As Part of Life, Human Behavior and Reading, Building on What Children Know, Ways of Assessing Reading Progress, The Role of Phonics, Helping the Reluctant Reader* and *Planning for Change*. The format mixes statements by an array of reading experts, with classroom illustrations of particular points and interviews with the particular teachers featured in these snippets.

A number of helpful things are said, sometimes quite well, but there's a lot of jumping around, which is easy on the viewer and probably fosters superficiality. I wish one could have seen much more sustained classroom examples, especially of problem situations, which were almost always only referred to; I suspect the producers worried about being "boring."

The main notions to be found in *Humanizing Reading Instruction* are: we don't really know how to teach reading; a noncompetitive atmosphere is best; don't scare or discourage a child; it's good to capitalize on a child's own interests (a kid who wanted to be a jockey had refused to learn to read until he was handed a racing form); most testing is lamentably for bureaucratic purposes unless it's done mainly to convey to the pupil a supportive sense of his own progress; reading and writing go together and a child may initially be more interested in reading his own words either dictated earlier by him or written by him; always be self-critical, with special attention to possible psychological problems of your own.

The producers say they started by trying to find a single definitive approach to reading, but found that "the best approach was to develop a series which presented a variety of teaching methods." Yet all of the teachers and experts pretty much agree on everything. No matter what their "life styles" (all manner of clothing, haircuts, etc.) they all believe enthusiastically in being human. There is hardly any explicit debate among the participants, but there is an implicit enemy—the bad teachers out there somewhere, lurking, skulking and teaching badly in classrooms across the nation. So if you are taking the course you are well-advised to demonstrate quickly that you are not one of those lurkers.

For example, I felt I was being informed repeatedly in a tone of highly polite contempt that I was out of it and teaching badly if I did not run an open classroom (all the classrooms in the films seemed to me to be "open"), that not having an open classroom means you are authoritarian. In my experience as a teacher, that is not what makes the difference; just as starchiness may not be rigidity, and a rigid person may pay heavy and confusing service to flexibility, especially if flexibility and openness are all the rage.

In the no doubt somewhat imaginary "good old days" a kid had to go to school, but he didn't have to like it, and he certainly knew when he didn't like it. So maybe he had a certain Huck Finn inner freedom. In Channel 13's brave new world I wonder if he mightn't feel forced to see himself as a grotesque (inhuman) monster if he has a sneaking suspicion that maybe he doesn't enjoy being with all these lovely (human) beings who are his teachers. I don't believe people ought to be so busy trying so hard to be nice.

As a people we have been doing that for some time, except that each generation does it in a new and fashionable ideological suit. We had Will Rogers and traveling salesmen who never met a man they didn't like. Then we had a love generation that hated all its sales executive fathers. Each of these ideological suits wore out, and now we're engaged in being humanly open and intolerant of any attitude but that of tolerance.

The fact is that good teaching is largely a matter of temperament, that good teachers already do most of what is prescribed in this telecourse, and do it better as their experience grows—though I'm glad to repeat that some things in the telecourse contribute to that experience. The racing-form anecdote is a useful example (the boy rapidly progressed to novels about jockeys); the flexible attitude toward phonics is also highly sensible and important; it is fine to repeat that scaring children is counter-productive; the importance of alert self-criticism should be kept in mind, though the teacher who needs that advice most will not take it. I am less certain about the course's flat position on noncompetition—it is pretty and over-simplistic slogan-thinking. Finally, I am tired of being exhorted to "plan for change." □

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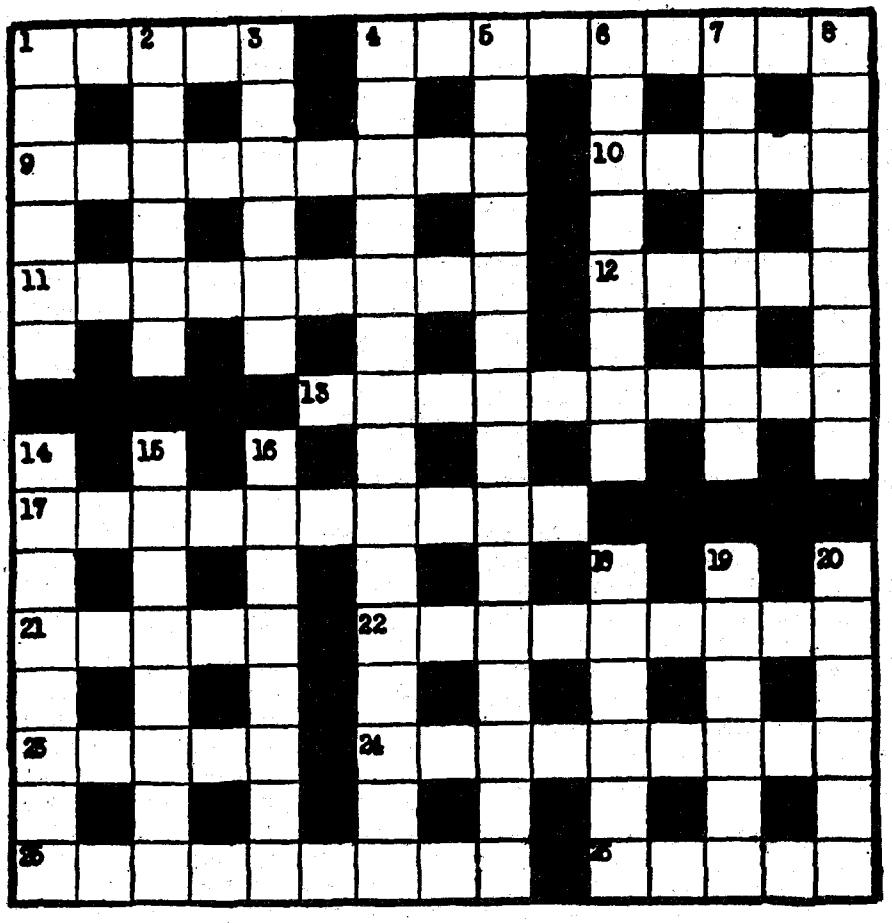

ACROSS

1 Steal out of it with as little as possible. (5)
4 Might it hang around you unfortunately? (9)
9 Patterned rug of felt, but you might not remember it so. (9)
10 It might be proportionate with it, or a form of it. (5)
11 Given this, there's evasion of what some dogs do to track. (3-6)
12 It might take pluck to make it, unless it's part of the speech. (5)
13 Sort of unplugged after a point, but got close. (8,2)
17 It might reveal the record to look certain. (10)
21 Jonson asked her to drink to him, after a fashion. (5)
22 It doesn't mean one which is often passed—descriptive of certain marriages. (6,3)
23 Carries from set to set in a better way. (5)
24 Is it clear it's formerly a single set price? (9)
25 What Shiva did, reputedly. (9)
26 Is prolific with sides, by the sound of it. (5)

DOWN

1 Manufacturing rifles shouldn't get out, possibly. (6)
2 They might be fastened with a tie or snap, but poorly so. (6)
3 The people who collect taxes, but not yours or mine? (6)
4 People with money, as they say, might be ineffectual toys. (8,7)
5 The typical Englishman? Something to beat, with the doctor about on the case of a famous detective. (7,8)
6 Part of the engine connected with the choke? (8)
7 After going to the middle of the circle, any progress must be. (8)
8 Dentures might, but they're not permanent measures. (8)
14 A mugwump is beyond his intellect, by definition. (8)
15 Is around comparatively tardy, but shuts off. (8)
16 One of those agents tidying things up in McLean serves to make it obvious. (8)
18 Instant importance? (6)
19 Iron, for example, starting in the sixties or seventies. (3,3)
20 Brushes off the chance to make some money on a bet? (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1605

ACROSS: 1 Common Sense; 9 and 8 down Shoemakers; 10 and 28 Riot squad; 11 and 23 Near misses; 12 Up-tight; 13 and 15 Officer of the day; 16 Louise; 18 Gothic; 21 Noontime; 24 Stamped; 26 Atomism; 30 Tree. DOWN: 2 One-eighth; 3 and 31 Mary Had a Little Lamb; 4 Neon; 5 Easeful; 6 Sinai; 7 and 29 Ship of State; 14 Hymns; 17 Ultimatum; 19 Output; 20 Cresset; 22 Oatmeal; 25 Medal; 27 Mail.

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